

KHRUSHCHEV AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPEAK ON EDUCATION

by
George S. Counts



A Translation of the Russian "Theses" for Education and
Dr. George S. Counts's Commentary and Analysis

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Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
Central Committee.

Khrushchev and the central committee
speak on education

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George S. Counts



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PREFACE

THIS volume is the second to be published by the University of Pittsburgh Press in its series, *Studies in Comparative Education*. The series attempts to bring to the attention of the American public studies of education in other lands which are timely, informative, and authoritative. There can be no doubt that the present work qualifies in all three of these categories. The forty-eight "Theses" presented here were expounded only last November as guideposts for Soviet education for several years to come. Although summaries of the statements and comments on them have often been seen in the American press, this is their first appearance *in toto* accompanied by a thorough analysis. Perhaps one reason for the lack of understanding of the implications of the "Theses" in this country is that such an analysis is vitally necessary and yet there are so few scholars capable of making it.

In this instance the University of Pittsburgh Press and the Board of Advisers of the series have been extremely fortunate. During the spring semester of the academic year just passed, the University of Pittsburgh had on its staff as Visiting Professor of Education the man most capable of interpreting the Soviet statements in the light of past history, present conditions, and future prospects. Dr. George S. Counts, Emeritus Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, is the author or co-author of seven major studies of Soviet education and culture. His *Challenge of Soviet Education* (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1957) received the award of the American Library Association for the most distinguished book of that year in contemporary problems and affairs. For the past three decades he has spent a large part of his time examining the Soviet system both first-hand and through documentary sources. During this period he has also published numerous articles and delivered many lectures attempting to awaken the American public to the challenge provided by Soviet educational and scientific progress. It required the appearance of *Sputnik* to prove Dr. Counts correct in his estimates of past and present Soviet achievements in these realms. Let us hope that his forecasts of the future will now be taken in the utmost seriousness by the American people. We owe this not to Dr. Counts but to ourselves.

WILLIAM H. E. JOHNSON

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first want to thank Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for a clear and dramatic demonstration of the way in which educational policies are formulated under a dictatorship. Through the forty-eight "Theses," approved by the Committee on November 12, 1958, and presented in translation in this volume, the tiny oligarchy which rules the Soviet empire has launched a comprehensive program for the radical reconstruction of the entire Soviet system of schools from the kindergarten through the university and the higher technical school. The contrast with the procedures followed in a democratic state is quite as significant as the substance of the reforms proposed.

For the document itself, published in the form of a booklet of forty-eight pages and in a first edition of one million copies in the Russian language, I am indebted to Dr. Hadley Cantril of The Institute of International Social Research, Princeton, New Jersey. He brought the document to me from Moscow late last autumn. I am also indebted to him for financial assistance in preparing the "Theses" for publication.

To my former research assistant of many years, Mrs. Nucia Lodge, I am indebted for the initial translation. I also want to thank Professor William H. E. Johnson of the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh and Mrs. Agnes L. Starrett of the University of Pittsburgh Press for reading the manuscript and making valuable suggestions.

My introduction is based in part on materials from my *The Challenge of Soviet Education* published in 1957 by the McGraw-Hill Book Company and from my article appearing in the March, 1959, issue of *The Educational Forum* entitled, "The Real Challenge to American Education." I am grateful to both the company and the journal for permitting me to make use of these materials.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

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THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOVIET EDUCATION

GEORGE S. COUNTS

HERE is a document which should be read and pondered by all Americans who are concerned about the future of our Republic and the cause of freedom in the world. It reveals with utter clarity the way in which education is regarded by that tiny oligarchy which rules the Soviet Union and directs the course of the Communist movement in all countries—the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In my preface to *The Challenge of Soviet Education*, written almost one year and a half before the first *Sputnik* soared into the heavens and evoked the startled gaze of mankind, I characterized Soviet education as “one of the great and inescapable realities of the contemporary epoch, and one which free peoples can ignore only at their peril.” The fact that the “Theses”—translated here—were approved by the Council of Ministers as well as by the Central Committee should deceive nobody. The latter is the real power in the Soviet state, and in the Council of Ministers itself. The “Theses” may be regarded as the Soviet version, vastly enlarged and immeasurably more authoritative, of the report by James B. Conant on *The American High School Today*. But they also demonstrate how a totalitarian state changes its educational system.

This document is probably without precedent in the entire history of education. At any rate, I know of nothing comparable to it. This is due in part to the fact that the Soviet social and political system is quite unlike both its contemporaries and its predecessors in all times and places. More than any other in history the Soviet state has endeavored to marshal all the forces of organized education, including all agencies for the molding and the informing of the minds of both young and old, to achieve its purposes and advance toward its distant apocalyptic goal of Communism. And here, apart from the dictatorship itself, is the key to the undertaking of the swift growth of this mighty colossus. The Central Committee regards education with a degree of seriousness far surpassing any-

thing known in the history of our country. In fact, it gives as close attention to education as it does to the economy, the armed forces, or the entire process of government. All of this is convincingly documented and authenticated in the forty-eight propositions "On the Strengthening of the Relationship of the School with Life and on the Further Development of the System of Public Education in the Country." These propositions call for the radical reconstruction of this entire system in the light of the goals of Communism and of the contemporary domestic and world situation. Ironically perhaps, just as some American spokesmen on education are proposing the adoption of many features of the now famous Soviet ten-year school of general education, the Central Committee is subjecting this institution to severe criticism and transformation.

On November 12, 1958, the "Theses" were approved by the Central Committee. On the same day a resolution was adopted to have them published in the press and made the subject of country-wide "discussion." Although this action was unusual, it was not entirely without precedent, even in Stalin's day. Consequently, for weeks, following the publication of the document in *Pravda* on November 16, newspapers and periodicals were filled with theoretical articles, letters from individuals, and resolutions from organizations generally supporting with apparent enthusiasm the proposition that the school should be related more closely to life. Some of the communications from the intelligentsia did raise questions about the wisdom of requiring all youth to engage in labor in the factory or on the farm for a period before proceeding to the higher schools. But the point to emphasize is that education received the attention of the press far beyond anything seen in the United States at any time in the history of our public schools. This treatment illustrates graphically the tremendous seriousness with which education is regarded by those who shape the destinies of the Soviet state. According to the December 25 issue of *Pravda* the "Theses" received the "unanimous approval and support of the workers" and with a few minor changes were enacted into law by the Supreme Soviet. This means, according to *Pravda*, that a "genuine cultural revolution is being achieved."

The "Theses" constitute a basic and essential part of the "Seven-Year Plan" which is designed to shape the development of the Soviet economy and culture from January 1, 1959, to December 31, 1965. As everybody knows, this procedure is in the Soviet

tradition. Through the State Planning Commission, guided by the Central Committee of the Party, the Soviet state has striven to develop all aspects of life according to plan. The system of planning was launched in earnest in October, 1928, with the First Five-Year Plan, "the Plan of Great Works," as it was called at that time, for the industrialization of a backward country. This plan was followed by five more five-year plans. The current plan of seven years takes on unusual significance because of its ambitious proclaimed goals: "to overtake and surpass America" and to hasten the transition to Communism. The proposed reconstruction of educational institutions is conceived in terms of facilitating the achievement of these goals.

The goal of overtaking and surpassing America was proclaimed in the early years of the Soviet regime. "We either overtake and surpass the advanced capitalist countries," said Lenin, "or we perish." At its Fifteenth Conference in 1926, the Party issued the following famous declaration: "We must strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries and thus insure the victory of socialism in its historic competition with the system of capitalism." The First Five-Year Plan constituted the first great organized effort to move toward this objective. The central theme of the plan was presented graphically in large posters which were widely distributed. One of those posters deserves special mention. It showed two powerful locomotives, one red and the other black, racing on parallel tracks. Over the locomotives were two Russian words, *Kto Kovo*. Literally translated these words become simply "Who Whom," but in the Russian idiom they mean "Who Will Win." I asked an official of the State Planning Commission in 1929, G. T. Grinko, whether they had any particular country in mind. He smiled and said: "Yes, the United States of America." The next year, a leading member of the Planning Commission, L. M. Sabsovich, made the following prediction. "This means that by 1943, in the event of the peaceful development of the country, we shall surpass the level of industrial production in the United States of America in 1929 and shall overtake, if we do not significantly surpass, the current level of technical equipment of industry in that country." Speaking at a Workers Conference in 1931 Stalin warned his listeners "we are lagging 50-100 years behind the advanced countries"; "we must run this distance in ten years"; "we will do this, or we will be crushed."

In 1929, I spent about nine months in the Soviet Union studying education, the planning system, and the First Five-Year Plan. On a road far from Moscow I encountered a group of twelve-year old boys on vacation and asked them about the plan. They replied that it "was a plan to overtake and surpass the most advanced capitalist countries." On my return home, I wrote and published in 1931 a book entitled *The Soviet Challenge to America*. On the flyleaf I quoted the declaration of the Fifteenth Conference. In the first chapter, entitled "To Surpass America," I made the following statement: "Quite possibly the stage is being set for one of the most stupendous acts of history—the open and conscious competition between two radically different social systems." And I expressed the hope that "this competition may be peaceful." At the time all of this seemed to be nonsense. Approximately fifty per cent of the people were illiterate, the wooden plow was still in use in parts of northeastern European Russia, the economy was struggling to produce five million tons of steel a year, and the country as a whole was still in the early stages of industrialization. To carry through the provisions of the First Five-Year Plan, many engineers, technicians, and even skilled workers were imported from "the most advanced capitalist countries." Khrushchev boasts that the Seven-Year Plan will carry the Soviet Union ahead of the United States in industrial production by 1965. In this gigantic program education is being called upon to play a central role.

The second great object of the plan is to bring Soviet society ever nearer the utopia of Communism, whose guiding principle will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In terms of official Party doctrine, a socialist society was established in the middle thirties, following the complete liquidation of the New Economic Policy of 1921, the elimination of private ownership in industry and commerce, and the collectivization of agriculture. The guiding principle of socialism is: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." The literature of the Seven-Year Plan is replete with promises of the swift transition from socialism to Communism during the coming period. That this transition has been slow in coming is obvious. That, at the present time, differences in rates of material compensation for the various kinds of "socially useful labor" are approximately as great as they are under capitalism is well known. Yet the optimism persists as sacred doctrine from decade to decade. At the Third

Congress of the League of Young Communists in 1920, Lenin assured "the generation which is now fifteen years old" that "in ten to twenty years" they "will live in a Communist society." Throughout the history of the Soviet regime the leadership has justified all policies by the Bolshevik version of the Marxian apocalypse—a vision of the swift coming of a domestic and world order which will surpass immeasurably in plenty, justice, fraternity, and beauty all that has gone before in human history—a vision of the coming of Communism under the consecrated leadership and direction of Russia and the Communist Party. It is this apocalyptic vision that rationalizes the privations, the suppressions, and the cruelties of the regime and inspires the devotion of millions in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. It is this vision which supposedly gives a kind of spiritual meaning to the Seven-Year Plan and that is expected to inspire teachers to prepare the younger generation to work for and to live in the earthly "paradise" where each will receive "according to his needs."

II

THE "Theses" express many sharp criticisms of the present system of schools, and particularly the ten-year school of general education. The supreme criticism is that the school is separated from life and thus tends toward abstractionism and verbalism. The curriculum is too bookish and is designed to prepare the younger generation almost exclusively for admission to the higher schools and membership in the privileged intelligentsia. It thus encourages the development of an aversion to physical labor and even promotes social snobbishness and "petit bourgeois" traits in both pupils and parents. In a word, it fails to foster a true Communist morality in the young and to create the New Soviet Man. Also it fails to achieve the union of theory and practice, of knowledge and socially useful labor in the realm of science and technology.

In order to understand this vast program for the reconstruction of Soviet education, it is imperative first of all to view the "Theses" in the perspectives of history. Many of the words, phrases, and ideas are reminiscent of the past, particularly of the nineteen-twenties. The reader should know that if we ignore the brief period of so-called military Communism which closed in 1921, the history of Soviet education may be divided into two periods, the

first ending in the early thirties and the second in 1956-58. The first roughly embraces the years preceding Stalin's conquest of power, and the second, the years of the rule of the great dictator. However, while the "Theses" suggest a return to Leninism at some points, I am of the opinion that they constitute a rough synthesis, according to the Hegelian formula, of certain essential features of the two periods. A brief examination of each of the periods should be instructive.

The most striking feature of Soviet education in the first period was the emphasis on "socially useful labor." This idea stemmed from the teachings of Karl Marx. Regarding human labor as the source of all value and the working class as the builder of socialism, he placed great stress on the role of labor in the educative process. In certain provisions of the Factory Acts of mid-nineteenth century England, which called for the alternation of work in school and work in factory, Marx saw the "germs of the education of the future," in which "education and physical culture" would be combined with "manual labor," and "manual labor" with "education and physical culture." On one occasion he outlined a program for children nine to eighteen years of age. From nine to twelve the child would work with his hands in the factory two hours a day; from thirteen to fifteen, four hours; and from sixteen to eighteen, six hours.

Out of these roots came the "unified labor school" of the twenties—the predecessor of the ten-year middle school of the later period. This school was an activity school, a school in which children learned by doing. As Soviet educators were fond of saying at the time, it was a "school that does" rather than a "school that talks." But the word "activity" in the Soviet context was given a meaning which distinguished it radically from that prevailing in the so-called progressive schools of the West. It carried a moral and ideological context. As one enthusiast said: "The question of the 'socially useful activities of the school' must be regarded at the present moment as the most important question of Soviet pedagogy, because it constitutes the sharpest and brightest trait which distinguishes the Soviet school, not only from the Tsarist school, but also from every other contemporary school." The Soviet school must be as "bright and unique" as the "Soviet union which gave it birth." And this basic characteristic is not found in the "complex method, self-government, or the social work of the teacher.

Relatively speaking all of these are trivialities." The Soviet school, "being created in the epoch of the stupendous sweep of a program for building the country, *must itself participate in the building of life.*" In a word, education must be a central factor in the direct transformation of both man and society.

The authority for this approach to the problem of education was Lenin himself. In his address at the Third Congress of the League of Young Communists in 1920, he stated that "one of the greatest evils and calamities which we have inherited from the old capitalist society is the complete gap between the book and practical life." Then he warned the company of picked Soviet youth before him that "without labor, and without struggle, book knowledge about Communism obtained from Communist brochures and other writings is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old gap between theory and practice." This obviously meant that the school could not rear a generation of Communists through books and words. It meant further that "*every day in every village, in every city the young should actually perform some task of social labor, be it ever so small, be it ever so simple.*" So was born the great idea of *socially useful labor*, of labor performed by pupils and school, useful to the community. Through such labor the work of the school would be closely related to life and made meaningful.

But there were other and more compelling considerations. The more fundamental of these considerations were outlined briefly, but unequivocally, in the new Programs for the Unified Labor School issued by the authoritative State Scientific Council in 1923. The programs, according to the Council, not only "provide new materials" and "presuppose new methods" for the work of the school; they also "place at the basis of the whole educative process an entirely new direction of the child's will, a direction which is contemporary and revolutionary-proletarian" in character. Children of workers and peasants "go to school, not to advance themselves above their station, to rise above their class and enter the higher class of the intelligentsia, as was customary in the old pre-revolutionary school, but to enter the foremost organized ranks of their own class, to become worthy aids and comrades of the organized revolutionary proletarian and peasant." The first task of the school is "to help children find socially valuable work suited to their strength and to enable them to participate effectively in such work." The controlling purpose of these proposals is to "liquidate the division of

society into classes" and "to make all forms of socially useful human labor equally important." Every kind of such labor "must be given a lawful and dignified place" in the program of the Soviet school. The great object of all of this is obviously the rearing of the young in the principles of Communist morality.

During the twenties the idea of socially useful work spread far and wide through the Soviet Union. The practice developed more or less spontaneously and in accordance with conceptions emerging in particular schools and localities. Practically every educator of standing evolved his own theoretical position on this question and sought to bring order out of chaos through some system of classification. At least one Union-wide questionnaire study was made and numerous conferences were held. Albert P. Pinkevich, one of the foremost Soviet educators, proposed that socially useful work be organized under ten categories: "1) economic activities; 2) socio-political work; 3) public enlightenment; 4) health protection; 5) communal welfare; 6) communication; 7) cooperation; 8) regional work; 9) conservation of natural resources; 10) individual aid to the population." He then made concrete suggestions for relating the work of the pupils and the school to each type of activity. A couple of illustrations must suffice. The children and teachers agitate for "rational cultivation of land," they make "reports, public addresses, etc.," they engage in "sorting of grain, destruction of weeds, disinfecting of grain with formaldehyde, etc." All of this was supposed to constitute an integral part of the curriculum of the school. Another Soviet educator suggested how the extermination of the bedbug, one of the common scourges of old Russia, might be utilized as a form of socially useful work. First, the pupils study the "biology of the bedbug"; second, they "discover by laboratory experiments the most radical means for exterminating them"; third, they "find the funds necessary to purchase the supplies"; and, fourth, they "organize the extermination in cottages." Literally hundreds of projects were undertaken by the Soviet school at this time, involving both pupils and teachers in excursions into the surrounding community.

The launching of the First Five-Year Plan in the autumn of 1928 had a tremendous immediate impact on this basic feature of Soviet education. The whole program of instruction was organized and directed toward the promotion of the plan. Every pupil, every teacher, every school was expected to assume responsibility for the

fulfillment of this "Program of Great Works." When, in the summer and autumn of 1929, I asked school children in many parts of the Union what was their first obligation, the response came almost invariably: "We must help make the plan succeed." One leading educator even expounded the theory that the school itself should "wither away."

A second and closely related theme which permeates the "Theses" also characterized the first period—the theme of "polytechnical education." Marx on one occasion suggested that the school program should include intellectual education, physical education, and technical education. By the last he meant an education which would acquaint "the child with the basic principles of all processes of production" and also give him "the habits of dealing with the most simple instruments of all production." Out of this formulation emerged the idea of "polytechnical education." The Eighth Congress of the Party in March, 1919, in laying the foundation of the Soviet system of education, set down as its first task, "the introduction of free, compulsory general and polytechnical . . . education for all children of both sexes up to the age of seventeen." However, this conception was submerged by the vogue of "socially useful labor" until the late twenties when the "unified labor school" became the "polytechnical school" and the energies of educators took the new direction. In August, 1930, there was convened in Moscow the First All-Russian Congress on Polytechnical Education.

The uninitiated might assume that a polytechnical school is one in which several technical specialties are taught. The Soviet conception is something quite different. According to that conception polytechnical education is the authentic form of general education *a la* Marx and Lenin. In a word, it means an education organized around the basic productive forces of industrial society—electrical energy, machine production, chemical production, and agricultural production. The conduct of the process of instruction involves work in school shops and on land plots, study of the underlying sciences, experience in a factory and on a farm, and study of labor management and economic planning. The object seems to be the development of an individual familiar with and experienced in the scientific foundations and the practical operations of the main branches of the economy in a socialist state in the age of science and technology. The vogue of "polytechnical education," however, like the vogue of "socially useful labor," was quickly submerged by the unequivocal

decrees of the Central Committee of the Party in the early thirties, only to emerge again feebly at the Nineteenth Congress of the Party in the autumn of 1952, when Stalin was still alive, and with great power in the "Theses" of the plenary session of the Central Committee in November, 1958.

The third theme of the twenties was the "union of theory and practice." Lenin was untiring in his insistence that theory should always be related to practice, to life. He criticized again and again the typical intellectual of old Russia who lived in a world of the mind divorced from the world of practical affairs and little interested in raising the productivity of the economy. To be sure, not a few sensitive souls before the revolution experienced a sense of guilt as they contemplated the lot of the people and the backwardness of their country. But it was this general condition among the intellectuals that led Lenin to emphasize repeatedly the necessity of bridging the gap between theory and practice, between mental and physical labor. During the years immediately following the Bolshevik seizure of power a heated controversy was carried on in the universities over the questions of knowledge for knowledge's sake, of science for science's sake, and of art for art's sake. In 1929, I asked a young Soviet educator of thirty years what he was doing in the terrible winter of 1920-21 when the entire economy was almost paralyzed and thousands were dying of cold, starvation, and diseases of malnutrition. His reply astonished me. With sparkling eyes he said he looked back on those months as the most exciting time of his life. It seems that he was a student at the Second University of Moscow, where all were living on shortened rations of food, fuel, and clothing. Yet faculty and students alike debated day and night a question of supreme concern at the time—the question of whether the new Russia should cultivate pure science or science related to life. The champions of the second position, with the assistance of the Party, naturally prevailed in the debate.

The early thirties witnessed the launching of a comprehensive program for the reconstruction of the Soviet school—a program even more radical in some respects than that represented in the present "Theses" of the Central Committee. The profound nature of the reconstruction was clearly revealed to me in 1936 when I inquired of teachers and pupils in both European Russia and Siberia regarding the first duty of the pupil. The answer everywhere was the same—"the mastery of knowledge." There was no suggestion

that he should assume responsibility for running the school, correcting his parents, managing the affairs of the community, or even assisting directly in the great program of construction. The immediate fulfillment of the provisions of the current five-year plan was left to the older generation. The pupil's first responsibility was, not to engage in "socially useful work," but to study language, history, mathematics, and science. Thus, practically the entire regimen of the middle school was swiftly transformed by decrees issued either directly or indirectly by the Central Committee of the Party. These decrees were directed, not only to broad educational policies, but also to the details of instruction and school management. As a consequence, a new Soviet school emerged which was profoundly different from the school of the twenties—a school which resembled in many respects the academic school of old Russia or Germany and would have been labeled counter-revolutionary in the earlier period.

The first of these decrees, issued on September 5, 1931, called for the simple mastery of knowledge. In the words of the Central Committee, "the basic defect of our school at the present moment" is the "fact that school instruction fails to give a sufficient body of general knowledge" and thus fails "to prepare for the technicums and higher schools fully literate people with a good command of the basic sciences (physics, chemistry, mathematics, native language, geography, and others)." Although Krupskaja, the widow of Lenin and a prominent educational leader, opposed these reforms, there followed during the next few years a series of supplementary decrees. By this same decree the traditional recitation and the authority of the teacher were restored. In April, 1932, the Young Pioneers were told that "their most important task . . . consists in the struggle for quality of work in school, for the mastery of the 'foundations of science,' for the strengthening of discipline among children and particularly in the school." In February, 1933, the principle of the "stable textbook" for each subject and grade was established—a textbook "designed for use over a period of many years" and "approved after preliminary scrupulous examination by the Collegium of the Commissariat of Education." Beginning in September, 1935, the Central Committee issued a succession of decrees which established a rigorous system of marks, examinations, promotion, and awards of both honor and substance. In August, 1943, a code of twenty "Rules for School Children" was promulgated—rules which covered matters of conduct in the school, the home, and the com-

munity. And in the spring of 1944, the central organ of the Young Communist League condemned the "practice of criticizing teachers, of taking pupils away from class during school hours, and of failing to assist teachers in improving discipline and order in the schools." Out of all of this evolved a ten-year school, offering a single curriculum for all children and characterized throughout by an extremely severe and bookish regimen. It is toward this school in particular that the "Theses" are directed—the school for the general education of the younger generation.

It can be readily seen that the "Theses" do constitute a kind of synthesis of Soviet experience gained in the two periods. From the earlier period they take the principle of "socially useful work," the conception of "polytechnical education," and the idea of the "union of theory and practice." At the same time they call for a very systematic organization of the entire process of education, while avoiding the verbalistic and abstractionist tendencies of the second period. Also they provide for the full development of the talents of all members of the younger generation, while recognizing clearly the importance of giving special attention to the truly gifted. Their emphasis on the expansion of the boarding school, which may have eight or eleven grades, is significant here. They are emphatically dedicated to the raising of the technical level of the entire economy and the productivity of labor. But in my opinion, the central object of the reforms proposed is not the utilization of the labor of children and youth, as some observers have suggested, but rather the cultivation in the young of the elements of Communist morality. The Central Committee has been disturbed for years over the failure of the New Soviet Man to appear—a man passionately devoted to the Motherland, to the Party, and to "our cause," a man who protects public property as if it were his own, a man who regards labor in all of its forms as a "matter of *honor*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valor* and *heroism*," a disciplined man who "fears no obstacles and is able to overcome all obstacles." The total educational system which will emerge from the "Theses" may be far more challenging than the system which has excited so many Americans.

III

THE time has come to talk sense about meeting this challenge. The launching of the first *Sputnik* in October, 1957, caught the American people off-balance. Such an achievement by the Soviet Union, they were certain, was impossible. Everybody knew that Russia was a very backward country, utterly incapable of competing in the realm of science and technology with the most advanced country in the world. Also everybody knew that science could not flourish under a despotism, and the Soviet Union was and is one of the most all-embracing despotisms in the history of mankind. Everybody knew that the advancement of science is impossible where the human mind is in chains. Consequently, since we were so sure of these things, we must recognize that we are confronted with a reality we do not understand. Our comforting illusions have been shattered. In this situation we must abandon utterly the complacency of the past and at the same time avoid hysteria. Our Republic today is living through the most critical period of its history. An underlying factor here of course is the passing of the great oceans which for centuries served as powerful bulwarks under whose benign protection our free institutions developed. We are now exposed to every military, political, economic, or ideological storm that arises anywhere on the planet. And, as a people, we are not prepared, intellectually or morally, to live in this strange world where things are constantly happening that we thought could not happen.

The challenge of Soviet education is real. About that there should be no doubt in the mind of any informed person. In the absence of the tremendous development of Soviet education Russia would still be a backward country, incapable of challenging the United States or the countries of Western Europe. As things stand today, however, every act of the Kremlin reverberates throughout the world and is reported on the front page of *The New York Times*. The reporting of the recent visit of Frol R. Kozlov provides the documentation. Not only his words, but also the tone of his voice and the expression on his face were all faithfully put into the record. And behind the power of the Kremlin may be seen the achievements of Soviet education.

The first responses of the American people to the challenge of Soviet education were for the most part emotional and uninformed. Persons who knew little about either Soviet or American education

appeared on the platform and in the press. Some took advantage of the situation to give expression to ancient grudges against certain educators and certain school practices, often in intemperate and abusive language. Not a few suggested that we should proceed to import essential features of Soviet practice and philosophy. It is therefore appropriate to set the record straight regarding three widely accepted assumptions about Soviet education—assumptions that supposedly explain the remarkable achievements of Soviet science. The first is that the ten-year school with its single curriculum and rigorous regimen was established shortly after the Bolsheviks seized power in November, 1917; the second, that its curriculum was dominated by the natural sciences; and the third, that *Sputnik* was a result of teaching to all pupils five years of physics, beginning in the sixth grade.

As a matter of fact, as we have noted, the ten-year school, as it has recently been described and admired in this country, was not established until about 1936. In the autumn of that year, after spending a few hours in each of scores of schools from Moscow to Leningrad, Sochi, Rostov, Odessa, Irkutsk, and Ulan Ude, I devoted an entire month to the study of School 25 in Moscow, reported to be one of the very best schools in the Soviet Union. Although the perfection of the curriculum lay in the future and the severe “code of twenty rules for school children” was not adopted until August, 1943, it was a far cry indeed from its predecessor of the twenties and early thirties. Indeed, if some Rip Van Winkle had visited a Soviet school in 1926, slept only ten years, and on waking had returned to the same school, he would have been utterly bewildered. Practically everything would have been changed—the curriculum, the methods of instruction, the relation of teachers to pupils, the entire regimen of the school. Many American teachers visiting the Soviet Union in the earlier period reported that the Bolsheviks had adopted the practices of “progressive” education—no clearly defined curriculum, no stable textbooks, no formal examinations, and no homework. Moreover, during this period the children seemed to be in command, forming committees to supervise almost every aspect of the life and program of the school. They might even close the school in order to participate in some form of “socially useful work.”

Now let us examine the position of the natural sciences in the ten-year school following the great reforms of the middle and late

thirties. According to the official program of 1955, less than fourteen per cent of the total class hours in the ten years of instruction was devoted to these subjects. Almost thirty per cent of the time went to Russian language and literature. Next came mathematics with about twenty per cent, but much of this was consumer's mathematics. Moreover, more time was devoted to either history or foreign language than to physics, and almost as much time to geography, which was presented essentially as a humanistic subject in the Communist version. To be sure, all children who survived through the ten years pursued a single curriculum, and it was in both theory and practice very severe.

A special word should be said about physics. According to a widely held view, here is to be found the secret of Soviet success in the field of bombs, rockets, and ballistic missiles. Simple arithmetic and a few facts of history should be sufficient to shatter this illusion. Let us assume that a child of seven years (the age of admission in the Soviet Union) entered the ten-year school in 1936 and was promoted normally from year to year, graduating at seventeen in 1946. He then went to a university or some other higher school. Five or six years later he received his diploma. But to become a scientist he had to study three more years as an *aspirant* for the doctorate and then as a candidate devote two or three additional years to the preparation of his thesis to become a doctor of science. This brings him to the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight and to the year of 1956 or 1957. The idea that he or any of his classmates played an important role in producing *Sputnik* is obvious nonsense. The reader should note that the youngest of the three Soviet physicists who jointly were awarded the Nobel prize in physics last year was born in 1905. He presumably received his first five years of schooling before the revolution and the remainder during the period when the Soviet school was, as the Russians say, in its "experimental period." He was thirty-one years of age when the rigorous curriculum of the ten-year school was being established.

IV

IF "physics from the sixth grade" did not produce *Sputnik*, we may well ask the question: Whence did it come? Two ready answers are commonly given. First, it was the captured German scientists who did the job. But the fact seems to be that we skimmed the

cream from this particular pail of milk and also obtained the services of some of the ablest scientists of the other countries of Western Europe. Second, it was the secrets gained through espionage that enabled the Soviets to achieve their great successes. The difficulty here is obvious. They hold secrets today that we never possessed. While the Russians undoubtedly profited from both the German captives and espionage, probably more significant than either or both of these sources is the Soviet practice of systematically collecting, translating, and studying the scientific works of other countries. But it is necessary to probe much more deeply. We must take a look at Tsarist Russia, Soviet ideology, and the Soviet political system.

At the time of the revolution in 1917 Russia as a whole was indeed a backward country. Perhaps sixty per cent of the people were illiterate, and grossly so. Feudalism was not abolished until 1861, and industrialism was in its early stages. Yet this backward land could boast a tiny intellectual class the equal in quality of the best in the advanced countries of the West. Most informed people are familiar with the names of the great Russian writers, composers, and artists of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Not so many are aware of the fact that there were also great names in the field of science and mathematics, such as Mendeleev, Mechnikov, Pavlov, and many others whose achievements have contributed much to the advancement of science. Moreover, it is in the realm of basic and theoretical science that the Russian tradition flourished. This tradition was a most valuable element in the heritage bequeathed to the Bolsheviks by the old regime. But they added to it with great power the emphasis on practical application—on technology and engineering.

A second factor of undoubted importance is the place occupied by science in Soviet ideology, in the Soviet world outlook. Science is placed in direct opposition to religion as the source of power and as the means for the achievement of utopia on the earth. It is consequently enveloped in an aura of sanctity comparable to that surrounding religion in the West. "Science" is a good and even charismatic word. And when the Soviet teacher presents to his pupils the Communist world outlook as "scientific atheism" he places that outlook beyond the realm of controversy. Also it is interesting to note that the body of doctrine known as Marxism-Leninism is sometimes referred to as "the science of the sciences." Then

there is the word *nauchnost* which literally means 'scienceness' and which is said to characterize the entire educational program and all policies of the Party. From the first days of their power the Bolsheviks have propagated ceaselessly the crucial importance of the mastery of science. Speaking at the Eighth All-Union Congress of the Young Communist League in May, 1928, Stalin challenged the picked youth of the Soviet Union in these words:

Before us stands a fortress. This fortress is called science with its many branches of knowledge. This fortress we must capture at any cost. This fortress youth must capture . . .

To master science, to forge the new personnel of Bolshevik specialists in all branches of knowledge, to study, to study, to study most stubbornly—such now is the task.

The march of revolutionary youth toward science—this is what we need now, Comrades.

During my extended visit to the Soviet Union in 1929 I was so impressed with this attitude toward science that I made the following statement in a book published in 1931: "In building the new social order they (the Soviet leaders) place their trust in science. So pronounced and widespread is this particular faith that science might well be regarded as one of the controlling ideas of the revolutionary movement." At about the same time, the "scientific correspondent" of the *Manchester Guardian* in Russia wrote that the most significant feature of the Soviet system was the union of science and the state. In 1936 I asked some thirty youngsters in a kindergarten in Irkutsk what occupations they intended to follow when they grew up. Over half said they hoped to be aviators. Most of the others mentioned technical and engineering occupations.

According to the basic teachings of Communist morality "labor is a matter of *honor*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valor* and *heroism*." Although the current Soviet press demonstrates that this ideal is far from realization for most forms of labor, it is undoubtedly a reality with respect to work in the natural sciences. Such work is honored, supported, and compensated above all others. Here is one of the most important sources of Soviet scientific advance.

Equally important is the Soviet political system. With all power concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party and the Central Committee, it is possible to set a distant goal in any field and marshal all available resources to achieve it. The will of the people or of their elected representatives does not have to be consulted or considered. The declaration of the Fifteenth Conference of the Party

in 1926 on overtaking and surpassing "the most advanced capitalist countries" illustrates this point.

Although all rational and informed people at the time knew that the declaration was "just propaganda," according to some American spokesmen, the Kremlin may now be in sight of its goal. In spite of the terrible devastation of the Second World War, the Central Committee has held the Soviet ship of state steadily on its course. Under a system of "compulsory savings" or heavy sales taxes on the necessities of life, which for a quarter of a century kept the material standard of living for the masses near the margin of subsistence, the Soviet dictatorship has moved inexorably toward the objective announced in 1926.

Another interesting illustration of the operation of the Soviet political system is found in Stalin's so-called "pre-election speech" on February 9, 1946. "I have no doubt," he said, "that if we give the necessary assistance to our scientists they will be able not only to overtake, but also to surpass in the nearest future the achievements of science beyond the borders of our country." Such assistance was obviously given, and in abundance. At the time, it should be recalled, Stalin was minimizing the military significance of atomic weapons and telling his people and the world that wars would not be decided by such weapons. Of course, he and the Central Committee knew very well that this was not true.

It is necessary here to place *Sputnik* in proper perspective. Many seem to think that this and other spectacular achievements constitute an authentic measure of the general level of scientific and technological advance in the Soviet Union. This is incorrect. In terms of the general level the United States is still far ahead of the Soviet Union. If the Russians possessed today our scientific and technological resources, they would move ahead with such power that we would soon be out of the race entirely. To resolve what may appear to be a contradiction the two political systems must be compared. In America scientific and technological research is devoted overwhelmingly to the improvement of consumers' goods and services, to producing the best "filter cigarette," to perfecting all kinds of gadgets and nostrums, to bringing out new models of the automobile every year, and to persuading the consumer that he should buy all these things and thus sustain the "American way of life." In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the Central Committee in the allocation of the available scientific and technological

resources is guided, not by the wants of the consumer, but by the distant apocalyptic goals of world Communism. Apparently the American people think the great oceans are still there.

V

THE total Soviet educational program, as we have noted, has played a critical role in the transformation of the former Russian Empire and the advancement of the Soviet Union to the position of the second industrial power in the world. And it does constitute a challenge to American education. But the challenge is not quite what it appears to be to many minds. The teaching of physics from the sixth grade contributed very little, if anything, to the recent spectacular advances in nuclear physics. It was but a passing expression of a way of regarding and directing the development and utilization of the natural sciences.

The question is often asked: "Is the Soviet system of education better than ours?" Put in this form the question makes very little sense. Since education is always a most intimate expression of the life and institutions of a given society, unless it is imposed from without by armed force, comparison of different systems is extremely difficult and hazardous. The ancient philosophers knew this very well. But let us turn to one of the most thoughtful students of the modern age, to a man whose writings influenced the founders of our Republic—Montesquieu. Over two centuries ago, in his *Spirit of the Laws*, he observed that "the laws of education ought to be in relation to the principles of government." One should add, perhaps, in relation to the whole system of society with its social heritage, its institutions, its body of values, and its power structure. This means that a program of education entirely suited to one society might destroy another.

In considering Soviet education, therefore, the beginning of wisdom is to take a look at the Soviet political system. The contrast with our own is revealed in a story from behind the "iron curtain." It seems that on election day a Soviet citizen went to the polling place to vote. Entering the room he found a long table with an attendant sitting behind it. On approaching the table the attendant handed him an envelope. Finding it sealed, he proceeded to open it. "No, no, Comrade," said the attendant, "you mustn't break the seal." "Why not?" he responded, "I want to know for

whom I am voting." Whereupon the attendant read him a lecture: "Don't you realize, Comrade, that under the great Stalinist Constitution of 1936, the most democratic in the whole world, we have the *secret* ballot?" We may laugh at this story. But in fact it would have made very little difference indeed, if he had opened the envelope. He would have found one, and only one, list of candidates. Under Soviet practice he could have entered a booth nearby and scratched out some of the names. But such action would have made him an object of suspicion and would have invalidated his ballot. At the election of delegates to the Supreme Soviet in March, 1958, the institution corresponding to our Congress, 99.97 per cent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. Of these less than one-half of one per cent entered the booth. All the rest merely picked up a ballot over here and put it into a box over there—an act that one of Pavlov's dogs could have learned to perform in a few hours.

The educational implications of such a political system are plain. Since the ordinary citizen is not expected to pass independent judgment on issues of policy or of persons, his preparation for citizenship must take the form of inculcating in him unquestioning loyalty to the regime. The central ingredient of education in Communist morality, a subject which receives more attention in Soviet textbooks in pedagogy than instruction in the natural sciences, is the development in the young of "love of the Motherland and the Communist Party." Children are told over and over again that the two loves are identical. After the down-grading of Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Party in February, 1956, apparently some Soviet citizens got the idea that the political system would be fundamentally changed in the direction of political liberty. Such heresies were quickly nipped in the bud by a powerful and unequivocal editorial in the July 6, 1956, issue of *Pravda*, the organ of the Central Committee, entitled "The Communist Party—the Inspirer and Leader of the Soviet People." The key sentence in the long editorial reads as follows: "As for our country, the Communist Party has been, is, and will be the sole master of the minds, the voice of the thoughts and hopes, the leader and the organizer of the people in their entire struggle for Communism."

Our American political system in fundamental respects is almost the antithesis of the Soviet. The basic presupposition of our form of government and society as developed in the period of the launching and the establishment of the Republic may be formulated in

these words: "The ordinary citizen not only can but will acquire the necessary knowledge and understanding to enable him to pass informed judgment on the greatest issues of policy and on persons." This of course is a stupendous affirmation. Indeed it is the boldest assumption regarding the nature of man and his potentialities ever put to the test in the history of the human race. It was sufficiently bold in the relatively simple society of our founding fathers. Today, when the advance of science and technology has created a society unprecedentedly complex in its patterns, wide in its sweep, and dynamic in its operations, it almost takes on the appearance of a utopian dream. Many careful studies seem to reveal that the ordinary citizen is overwhelmingly concerned with his immediate personal and family problems, and is quite content to ignore the great questions involving the long-time fortunes of the Republic and the survival of freedom in the world. When a person runs for public office he is commonly advised by the "experts" to stress the "bread and butter issues." In the world as it is today this is clearly not enough. At the present critical period in our history we should recall the words of Alexis de Tocqueville written a century and a quarter ago. Pointing out that a democracy is incapable of dealing with "foreign politics," he said: "A democracy is unable to regulate the details of an important undertaking, to persevere in a design, and to work out its execution in the presence of serious obstacles."

Let us return now to the question of the relative merits of the two systems of education. If phrased as follows, the question does make sense: "Does the Soviet system of education serve the purposes of the Soviet political and social system better than our system of education serves the purposes of our political and social system?" While there exists no calculus that can give us the answer, it is my opinion that in this sense the Soviet system may well be superior to ours. But the point must be made at once that the task assigned to our schools is vastly more difficult and complicated than the task assigned to the Soviet schools. We must prepare the members of the younger generation to discharge intelligently and conscientiously all of the duties of citizens of a free society in the industrial age. The Russians have only to prepare their children and youth to love the Party and serve the state in accordance with their different gifts and talents. To be sure, the Soviets may fail in this vast realm of moral education. But on

such a possibility we should not base our policy. The "Theses," as we have noted, constitute a comprehensive attempt to bring into being the New Soviet Man.

The real challenge of Soviet education therefore is not to be found in the realm of science and technology. If that were all we had to fear, the situation would not be too alarming. We must, of course, "strive in the shortest possible historical period to overtake and surpass" the Soviet Union in whatever fields of science and technology they may be leading at the present time. About this there must be no equivocation. But after we have succeeded here the great task of our education will remain: the rearing of a generation of citizens who will be able to rise to the moral and intellectual challenges of these fateful times.

This means above all the raising of our sights relative to the entire educational undertaking. And this means that we must regard education far more seriously than ever before in our history. We must regard it, not only as a means of individual success and personal cultivation, but also as an indispensable means in the building of national health and strength on the foundations of freedom. This means also that we must allow no factors of family, religion, race, economic condition, or established educational practice to prevent the fullest possible development of our most precious natural resource—the talents of the younger generation. This means further, and most particularly, the raising of the qualifications and the material and spiritual rewards of the teacher at all levels. If the traditionally inferior status of the teacher in America is to be improved, teaching must come to be regarded as one of the noblest and most arduous of callings. That the attainment of this goal might well double the cost of education and involve as large a proportion of the total national income as the Russians devote to their schools is probable. But our very survival as a free society in the great ordeal through which we are destined to pass may well depend on these things. And here I should like to quote a great Russian liberal educator of the "Age of Enlightenment" following the liberation of the serfs in 1861. Speaking of the work of the teacher, K. D. Ushinsky observed that the cause of education is "one of the greatest causes of history—a cause on which kingdoms and generations rest."

VI

ONE final word on the "Theses." They themselves constitute a challenge of the first order of magnitude. Here we see an all-powerful state, represented by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, assessing the experience of the past forty-one years, taking into account the present domestic and world situation, and guided by its apocalyptic goals, engaged in a bold, comprehensive, and imaginative effort to reconstruct radically the entire system of schools. Is a democracy capable of subjecting its own system of education to a comparable re-examination and reconstruction in terms of its own resources, institutions, and values? Here is the challenge of the "Theses." The time has come for an educational awakening surpassing in depth, sweep, and grandeur the awakening which gave birth to our glorious system of public schools. Obviously, at this time we should have a federal commission, composed of our most distinguished citizens, and equal in moral and intellectual stature to the justices of our Supreme Court, to study over a period of time the entire question of education and to make recommendations, without administrative authority, for the bringing of our total educational program abreast of the conditions and challenges of the second half of the twentieth century. The Republic is in danger, not perhaps for today, but certainly for tomorrow.

VII

KTO KOVO?

Пролетарии всех стран, соединяйтесь!

**ОБ УКРЕПЛЕНИИ СВЯЗИ
ШКОЛЫ С ЖИЗНЬЮ
И О ДАЛЬНЕЙШЕМ
РАЗВИТИИ СИСТЕМЫ
НАРОДНОГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ
В СТРАНЕ**

*Тезисы ЦК КПСС
и Совета Министров СССР*



**ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО
ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ**

Москва • 1958

Workers of the world, unite!

ON STRENGTHENING THE
RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL
WITH LIFE AND ON THE
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF
THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC
EDUCATION IN THE
COUNTRY



*Theses of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party and the Council of
Ministers of the USSR*

THE STATE PUBLISHING-HOUSE OF
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Moscow - 1958

**ИНФОРМАЦИОННОЕ СООБЩЕНИЕ
О ПЛЕНУМЕ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНОГО КОМИТЕТА
КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКОЙ ПАРТИИ
СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА**

12 ноября 1958 года состоялся Пленум Центрального Комитета Коммунистической партии Советского Союза.

Пленум ЦК обсудил вопросы:

1. Проект тезисов доклада товарища Н. С. Хрущева на XXI съезде КПСС «Контрольные цифры развития народного хозяйства СССР на 1959—1965 годы».

2. Об укреплении связи школы с жизнью и о дальнейшем развитии системы народного образования в стране.

Пленум ЦК принял соответствующие постановления, которые сегодня публикуются.

В связи с избранием члена Президиума ЦК КПСС и секретаря ЦК КПСС тов. Беляева Н. И. первым секретарем ЦК КП Казахстана, Пленум ЦК освободил тов. Беляева Н. И. от обязанностей секретаря ЦК КПСС.

INFORMATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took place on November 12, 1958.

The Plenum of the Central Committee discussed the following questions:

1. Draft of the theses from the speech of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev to be delivered at the XXI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Control Figures for the Development of the Public Economy of the USSR during the years 1959-1965."

2. On strengthening the relationship of the school with life and on the further development of the system of public education in the country.

The Plenum of the Central Committee adopted appropriate resolutions which are published today.

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RESOLUTION

OF THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Adopted November 12, 1958

DRAFT OF THESES ON THE QUESTION OF STRENGTHENING THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL WITH LIFE AND ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRY

1. To approve the draft of the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR "On strengthening the relationship of the school with life and on the further development of the system of public education in the country."

2. To publish in the press the draft of the theses for a country-wide discussion.

3. To submit the question of strengthening the relationship of the school with life and on the further development of the system of public education in the country to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for discussion.

ON THE STRENGTHENING OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SCHOOL WITH LIFE AND ON THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRY

1. The Soviet country is living through a period of extraordinary growth. The economy of the state is developing at a tempestuous rate. Science and culture are flourishing as never before. The well-being of the workers is rising constantly. The outstanding victories in all spheres of economic and cultural construction gained by the Soviet people—true masters of their life and creators of history—are an object of their legitimate pride. They fill with happiness and hope the hearts of millions of friends of peace and socialism throughout the world. They plunge into fear and gloom the enemies of the working class.

As a result of the wise domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, the Soviet people have successfully achieved great things. During the years following the historic Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Soviet society has taken a new and great step forward on the road to the gradual transition from socialism to communism. These have been years of tremendous acceleration in the rate of communist construction and in the development of workers' initiative in the political life of the country and in the realm of economic and cultural activity. Guided consistently by the great legacy of Lenin the Party has rallied ever closer about itself the wide popular masses.

The Soviet country is confronted with the resolution of new grandiose tasks. The Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will consider and confirm the control figures on the development of the national economy during the years 1959-1965. The Seven-Year Plan will embrace a great program of Communist construction. The fulfillment of this program will make the Soviet land even more rich and powerful. It will be of decisive importance in the triumph in peaceful competition of the socialist over the capitalist system. The Soviet people are fully confident of their ability to fulfill the outlined plans.

2. The decisive role in the fulfillment of the plans of construction belongs to the Soviet people. Their dedication to the cause of Communism, their will to work, their ability to translate

into life the great design of the Communist Party are the foundation of our victories. The reservoir of the talents of the people of the Soviet land is inexhaustible. Ever new millions of builders of Communism join the ranks of conscious and active workers of Soviet society. V. I. Lenin taught us that the rearing and the instruction of the younger generation, the training of highly qualified specialists for all branches of economy, science, and culture must always be a subject of special concern to the Communist Party and the Soviet State.

The Soviet school has prepared millions of educated, cultured citizens, active participants in socialist construction. It has reared remarkable contingents of outstanding scientists, engineers, and builders whose researches and creative work are embodied in such historic scientific and technological triumphs as the artificial earth satellites, atomic electric power stations, atomic icebreakers, and swift jet passenger planes. But the Soviet people cannot rest on their laurels. Life places new tasks before the school. Our schools of general and higher education lag behind the demands of Communist construction. They have serious shortcomings. Chief among these shortcomings is the well-known separation of teaching from life. At the contemporary stage of Communist construction this defect in the system of public education is peculiarly intolerable.

"Every young boy, every young girl," said Comrade N. S. Khrushchev at the Thirteenth Congress of the Young Communist League, "must know that while studying in school he or she must prepare for work in order to create values useful to man and society. Everyone, regardless of the economic status of his parents, must follow the same road—to learn, and having learned, to work."

We must reconstruct public education so that Soviet secondary and higher schools may play a more active role in the entire creative activity of the Soviet people. The ways for such a reconstruction are outlined by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, in his memorandum, "On the strengthening of the relationship of the school with life and on the further development of the system of public education in the country." The proposals contained in the memorandum have been approved by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and find passionate support on the part of the Soviet people who regard the reconstruction of the school as an urgent task. These proposals

are directed toward raising still higher the cause of the Communist rearing of the younger generation and the training of specialists for all branches of economy, science, and culture.

THE SCHOOL AND THE BUILDING OF COMMUNISM

3. The Communist transformation of society is indissolubly linked with the rearing of a new man in whom spiritual wealth, moral purity, and physical perfection will be harmoniously combined. The man of the Communist tomorrow will be free of unworthy traits, bred by the exploiting regime, such as private-ownership egoism, desire to live at the expense of another's labor, Philistinism, individualism, et cetera.

One of the chief vices of the old social order was the gulf between physical and mental labor. The separation of mental from physical work was associated with the appearance of private ownership of the tools of production and the separation of society into hostile, antagonistic classes. The growth of the contradictions of capitalism further deepened the antithesis between mental and physical work. Marxist teaching dissipated the bourgeois legend of the inevitable and everlasting existence, on the one hand, of the drab mass of people, whose lot is subordination and heavy physical toil, and, on the other, a handful of people who allegedly are destined by nature itself to think, to govern, and to develop science, literature, and art. The experience of the Soviet Union, the experience of the Chinese people, and the experience of the peoples of the other socialist countries have demonstrated beyond doubt that the toilers, freed from the chains of exploitation, irrespective of racial, national, and other differences, can govern a state, not worse, but better, than the exploiters, and that they can develop the economy, science, literature, and art at unprecedented rates.

4. The separation of mental from physical labor, the conversion of mental activity into a monopoly of the ruling classes brought tremendous harm to the intellectual development of mankind. For centuries culture was a forbidden fruit for millions of ordinary people. For centuries the old social order organized the school in such a way that it was, in substance, inaccessible to the wide masses of toilers and served the interests of the exploiters. In socialist society where the essential differences between physical and mental labor are gradually being liquidated and a union of mental and physical work is being established, the development of all aspects,

not only of the productive but also of the spiritual activity of the widest working masses, proceeds with gigantic strides. The socialist state organizes its school in such a way that it may serve the people, that it may give knowledge to the toilers, that it may further the development of all the talents of all the people. The Soviet rears the younger generation in the spirit of the most progressive ideas, the ideas of Communism. It forms in the youth a materialistic world outlook—the foundation of a truly scientific conception of the world. Socialism has opened unlimited vistas for the growth of the material and spiritual riches of society, for an all-round development of personality. Under socialism all of the achievements of world culture become the property of the masses.

5. Thanks to the establishment of our socialist order, work has been transformed from a grievous burden, as it is under capitalism, into a matter of honor and civic duty for everyone. We know that under socialism the ruling principle is “from each according to his ability—to each according to his work.” But this principle is not eternal. In Communist society another principle will prevail—“from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.” This does not mean, of course, that under Communism a sybaritic life will prevail where indolence and idleness will reign. In the Communist tomorrow there will be an interesting, creative, working, cultured life. Labor will become a prime vital need of man. At the same time man will have a great deal more time to devote to science, literature, music, art, sport, and any other interest pleasing to him. Marx wrote that in a Communist society “the development of productive forces will proceed so swiftly that, although production will be for the wealth of all, nevertheless, *leisure time* will increase for all.”

This great prediction of Marx is being fulfilled. The productive forces of the Soviet social order have developed to such an extent that the reduction of working time and the increase of leisure time have become the question of today. In the USSR the transition to a seven-hour working day, and in some branches of industry to a six-hour day, is gradually being realized. Parallel with the further growth of productive forces and the increase of the social wealth of the Soviet Union the leisure time of workers will continue to grow. This means that every Soviet person will have increasingly greater opportunities to combine his work with education, with the broadening of his horizon, and with the satisfaction of his spiritual

needs which will grow the more swiftly the closer we approach Communism.

Proceeding from the Leninist position that Communism means, first of all, a higher productivity of labor than under capitalism, the workers in industry as well as in agriculture must master the most productive methods and make use of the latest discoveries in science and technology. The accelerated development of mechanization and automation, the use of chemistry in production, the wide application of electronics and computing machines, and the utmost development of electrification and other highly productive methods will alter radically the nature of work. In essence the labor of workers and collective farmers will approximate more and more the work of engineers, technicians, agronomists, and other specialists in agriculture. Today workers are expected to know how to use improved machine tools and the most precise measurements which control instruments and apparatus. They must have knowledge of complex technical calculations and blueprints. Thus the immediate and future prospects for the technical-economic development of the Soviet Union make ever increasing demands on all the toilers of our society. For them an all-round education becomes a vital necessity.

It is a most profound misconception to assert that with the automatization of production in Communist society manual work will disappear. To be sure, gigantic technical progress will lighten physical labor immeasurably, and many occupations which exhaust man are disappearing and will continue to disappear in the future. But the harmonious development of man is unthinkable without physical labor which is creative and joyous, which strengthens the organism and heightens its vital functions. "Just as in nature the head and the hands belong to one and the same organism, so in the process of work also mental and manual work are joined," wrote Marx. By participating in socially useful work the new generation of builders of Communist society should engage in physical labor suited to their strength and in most diverse forms.

6. The thought of combining instruction with productive work has been attracting the attention of the leading minds of mankind for some time. The Utopian socialists, Campanella, Fourier, and Owen, and the great Russian revolutionary democrat, Chernyshevsky, in visualizing the society of the future held that under socialism education would be intimately related to productive work. The great thinkers, Marx, Engels, and Lenin, put the idea of combining

education with productive work on the realistic ground of the proletarian struggle for socialism and Communism. They linked it organically with polytechnical education of youth in a socialist society. Marx wrote that in rearing children of a given age productive work should be combined with instruction and gymnastics. This "will be not only a method for increasing social production but also the sole method for creating all-round developed people." Engels emphasized that "in a socialist society work and education will be combined, and in this way the younger generation will be assured a varied technical education, as well as a practical foundation for scientific training." Even before the October revolution Lenin suggested the education of children and youth in a socialist society on the basis of a union of instruction with productive work.

7. The experience of the Soviet school confirms the scientific prevision of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. In his historic speech at the Third Congress of the Young Communist League, V. I. Lenin explained that the younger generation must learn Communism by closely linking each step of learning, rearing, and education with the toilers against the old exploiting society. Youth must not isolate itself in schools, but must combine all of its study and education with the labor of the workers and peasants. "Only in labor, together with the workers and peasants, is it possible to become true Communists," observed V. I. Lenin. In giving concrete expression to his position, he said that youth must combine their education with work, with the struggle for the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of electrification, with the struggle for the culture and the enlightenment of the people. The principle of combining education and productive work is set down in the most important documents of the Communist Party.

8. A genuine cultural revolution has been achieved in the USSR. The Soviet school has played a decisive role in this revolution; it has assisted in raising the cultural level of all the peoples of our Motherland of many nations. The Soviet Union no longer has any backward national "borders" as in the time of tsarist Russia. All of the peoples in the Soviet land have schools in their native languages; all have wide access to the sources of enlightenment and culture; illiteracy has been liquidated; universal seven-year education has been introduced; secondary and higher education have been widely developed. At the present time more than fifty million persons are studying in the USSR.

Whereas in pre-revolutionary Russia in 1914 the number of children attending primary and secondary school was 9,650,000, in the last academic year of 1957-1958 the number of pupils in our school of general education was 28,700,000. Combined with the enrollment in schools for adults the number becomes 30,600,000 persons. During this time the number of pupils in the upper classes of the secondary school increased almost forty-fold. In the year of 1958 alone the secondary schools of general education and schools for working and rural youth graduated 1,600,000 young boys and girls.

The successes of public education are particularly great in the Union republics whose populations in the past were almost wholly illiterate. For example, over 1,340,000 persons are now enrolled in the schools of the Uzbek Republic, whereas in 1914 over the territory of contemporary Uzbekistan the number of school children was slightly over 17,000.

More than 4,000,000 students are attending the higher educational institutions and technicums of the country, as compared with 182,000 in 1913. There are almost four times as many students in the higher institutions of learning in the USSR as in such large capitalist countries of Europe as England, France, the Federated Republic of Germany, and Italy, whose combined population is about 200,000,000 persons, that is, almost as large as that of the USSR. Engaged in the national economy of our country at the present time there are approximately 7,500,000 specialists with higher and secondary specialized education, whereas in 1913 of such specialists there were less than 200,000.

The Soviet Union has advanced to one of the first places in the world with respect to the development of science and technology. In the quantity and the quality of the training of specialists it has surpassed all other countries. When the first Soviet artificial earth satellite burst into the expanses of the cosmos, many sober and thoughtful people in the capitalist world acknowledged that the broad development and the high level of secondary and higher education in the USSR were among the primary causes responsible for the brilliant victory of Soviet science and technology. The American press wrote in alarm that the Soviet secondary school devotes much more time and attention to the study of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology than the American. The United States of America, whose ruling circles had boasted of their leading position (in science and technology), now declare that the USA must over-

take the Soviet Union in the training of specialists of all kinds. This is an achievement about which one can only be proud.

In Soviet society a remarkable generation of young people has been reared. They devote all their knowledge and energy, all their abilities and talents to the building of Communism. The high moral qualities of Soviet youth were brilliantly demonstrated on the labor fronts of socialist construction during the years of the first five-year plans, in the Great Patriotic War, in the heroic deeds involved in the cultivation of virgin and idle lands, in the construction of huge electric power stations, mines, and blast furnaces, in the building of new industrial centers in the east and the north of our country, and in many other labor exploits of these days.

9. The progressive development of productive forces in the process of building a Communist society, the perfecting of socialist relations, and the further advance of Soviet democracy create favorable conditions for moving ahead and successfully solving the new problems of the Communist rearing and education of our youth.

The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out that a serious shortcoming of our school is a recognized separation of instruction from life and poor preparation of the graduates for practical activity. In its current report to the Congress the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared that "In order to strengthen the relationship of the school with life we must not only introduce into schools the teaching of new subjects which give the foundations of knowledge on questions of technology and production, but also arrange for the systematic participation of students in work in enterprises, on collective farms and state farms, on experimental plots, and in school workshops. We must reconstruct the teaching program of the middle school with an emphasis on greater specialization in production in order that boys and girls who graduate from the ten-year school may have a good general education which will open the way to higher education and at the same time prepare them for practical work, inasmuch as the majority of the graduates will be drawn immediately into work in various branches of the national economy."

Following the Congress, some work has been accomplished in bringing the school closer to life. The results already obtained from initial experiments to combine instruction with productive work in a number of schools of the Russian Republic, the Ukraine, and other Union republics are undoubtedly of value. In the Stavropol

region, for example, the brilliant idea was conceived of organizing student brigades on collective farms. Brigades are formed from students in the eighth and ninth grades. The collective farms reserve plots of land to such brigades. Students carry out such tasks in agriculture as are within their strength and in accordance with the work program outlined by the school. These tasks are performed without detriment to the curriculum of the school. In winter and spring definite hours are assigned for work, and in the summer time students are for the most part engaged in work on the farms. Young boys and girls are reared in labor, are being accustomed to discipline, and are being prepared to become competent skilled workers in agriculture.

A thorough study of experience in a number of schools which combine education with productive work will be of help in reconstructing public education.

However, the situation in the secondary and higher schools as a whole remains practically unchanged, and the relationship of the school with life is altogether inadequate, as heretofore. The Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, therefore, think it urgent to review thoroughly the question of practical measures to strengthen the relationship of the school with life and to develop further the system of public education in the country.

In his memorandum on strengthening the relationship of the school with life Comrade N. S. Khrushchev states: "We must reconstruct decisively the system of rearing our younger generation in the schools. The most important thing here is that we have a slogan and that this slogan be sacred for all children entering our school, namely, that every child must prepare for useful work, for participation in the building of a Communist society. And any work, whether in a factory or on a collective farm, in an industrial enterprise or on a state farm, in a machine-tractor station, in a repair tractor station, or in an office, any honorable work for the good of society is sacred work and necessary to every man who lives in and enjoys the benefits of society. Every man who lives in a Communist society must contribute his mite of labor to the building and the further development of this social order. To prepare our younger generation for life, for useful labor, to cultivate in them a profound respect for the principles of socialist society, this must become the foremost task of our school."

The Soviet school is called upon to prepare all-round educated

people, well-grounded in the foundations of science, but at the same time capable of systematic physical work. The Soviet school is called upon to cultivate in the youth a desire to be useful to society and to participate actively in the production of values necessary for society.

ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

10. The present system of public education in the USSR came into being more than two decades ago. In the thirties, during the period of socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the school was faced with the task of preparing for higher institutions of learning fully literate people, possessing a mastery of the foundations of science. Chief attention of the school was devoted to providing the students with the general preparation necessary for entrance into higher institutions of learning. This led to one-sidedness, to a certain abstractness in the instruction of the youth, and to the separation of the school from life which in turn caused serious defects in the sphere of moral training as well. The school limited itself mainly to verbal methods of instruction. It failed to give necessary attention to drawing children and youth into participation in socially useful work as much as their strength permitted.

As a result many young boys and girls on graduating from the secondary school feel that the only acceptable course in life for them to follow is to continue their education in a higher or at least in a secondary specialized institution of learning. Reluctantly they go to work in factories or mills, on collective or state farms. And some of them consider it degrading to engage in physical labor. Yet it follows naturally that, because of the continuous expansion of secondary education, the overwhelming majority of young people on graduation must go directly into productive work. At the same time technological progress calls for a sufficiently high general preparation on the part of the young people who fill places in industry and agriculture.

At present higher institutions of learning admit annually approximately 450,000 students. This includes correspondence and evening courses. During the period from 1954 to 1957, of those graduating from the secondary school over 2,500,000 did not enter technicums and higher institutions of learning. Since the courses of study in the secondary school are isolated from life many young boys and girls have no labor skills; they have no knowledge of production. This creates serious difficulties in placing them in jobs

and arouses dissatisfaction among a considerable part of the young people and their parents.

All this underlines the urgent necessity of the reconstruction of the work of the school.

11. The point of departure for a correct resolution of the task of the reconstruction of the school is the recognition that at a certain age all young people should be included in socially useful work and that their instruction in the foundations of science should be related to productive work in industry or agriculture. Hence the necessity of a correct correlation in the secondary school of general, polytechnical, and a vocational education based on a wise combination of work and study with leisure and normal physical development of children and youth.

Thus an intimate relationship of instruction with life, with production, and with practical Communist construction should be the guiding principle in the study of the foundations of science in the school. And this principle should determine the content, the organization, and the methods of teaching. From the very first years of instruction children should be psychologically prepared for subsequent participation in socially useful activity, in labor.

In organizing the education and the rearing of the younger generation on the foundation of relating instruction to life and work within their strength, the age of the school children should be taken into consideration. It is desirable that all of our young people, from the ages of fifteen or sixteen, be drawn into socially useful work. Therefore secondary education should be divided into two stages.

12. *The first stage* of secondary education should be a *compulsory eight-year school*, to replace the present seven-year school. Compared with the seven-year school the compulsory eight-year school will be a considerable step forward in the development of public education. The eight-year school will graduate young people with a greater fund of general knowledge. They will be psychologically and practically better prepared to participate in socially useful activity. A school of this type will resolve more successfully the tasks of Communist education and of labor and polytechnical instruction. It will offer the students a wider range of knowledge, will eliminate the overloading of studies now present in the seven-year school, will make possible a more serious treatment of the physical education of the children, and will develop in them good artistic taste. In the preparation of girls for labor in the eight-year

school the peculiar features of women's work should be taken into consideration.

In the process of educating for work the school is called upon to acquaint the students with the diverse forms of work in our society, help school children to express their interests, and assist them in choosing intelligently their future professions.

The eight-year school will be an incomplete secondary general-education labor polytechnical school. In sparsely populated localities primary schools of four grades should be retained. Graduates from these schools will enter the fifth grade of the nearest school.

Upon graduation from the eight-year school all of the young people must be drawn into socially useful work in enterprises, on farms, etc. This will create more equal conditions with regard to labor and education for all citizens. And this will be a good means of rearing the young people in the spirit of the heroic traditions of the working class and the collective farm peasantry.

13. Youth will receive a complete secondary education at the *second stage of instruction*. The completion of secondary education on the basis of a union of instruction with productive work may be accomplished in the following ways.

The first, basic way. Youth who go into productive work on completing the eight-year school first receive preliminary vocational training, then while working they study in the *school for working or rural youth*. This school should give the students a complete secondary education and help them raise their vocational qualifications.

The second way provides training for youth, who have completed the eight-year course, in the *secondary general-education labor polytechnical school with training in production* (similar to the schools of factory-mill and agricultural apprenticeship) which, with the assistance of the neighbouring industrial enterprises, collective farms state farms, repair-technical stations, etc., will realize the union of instruction with productive labor and give the students a complete secondary education and vocational training for work in one of the branches of the national economy or culture.

The third way provides instruction for a part of the youth in *technicums* which operate on the basis of an eight-year school, where students will receive a full secondary education, work specialization, and the rank of specialist of middle qualification.

The new system of public education will enable every boy and girl to prepare better for life, to acquire a definite vocation, and to

choose the most appropriate means of getting a complete secondary education.

14. The secondary schools of working and rural youth are designed to complete the secondary education of boys and girls who work in production or in institutions. Instruction in such schools may be organized in shifts or in evening, seasonal (in rural areas), or correspondence courses. It is necessary to create conditions that will attract working youth into these schools—well-balanced studies and a decisive improvement in the quality of instruction. For those who are successful in their studies it might be advisable to reduce the working day without a break in production or to release them from work two or three days a week.

Students in these schools should be given an opportunity, not only to get a full secondary education, but also to perfect and deepen their vocational training. The length of the course in the school of working and rural youth should be three years. Everything should be done to stimulate these youth to get a secondary education and to pass the necessary examinations without regular class attendance.

It is advisable when promoting and raising the occupational rank of young workers and peasants to take into consideration their success in school and their positive social traits.

In view of the fact that some working youth do not have a seven-year education, the schools of working and rural youth might for some time continue all grades, beginning with the third. In case of need, classes for adults might also be organized in these schools.

Graduates of the schools for working and rural youth receive a secondary school certificate and have the right of admission to higher educational institutions.

15. Secondary general-education labor polytechnical schools with production training (of the factory and agricultural apprenticeship type) are to be organized in cities and rural areas and will offer a three-year course. They will combine general, polytechnical, and vocational education. The correlation of theory and practice in production training and the alternation of periods of instruction and work are to be determined by the nature of the special preparation of students and by local conditions. In rural schools the academic year should be planned with the seasonal agricultural work in mind.

Production training and socially useful labor could be conducted

in study and production workshops of enterprises, in student brigades of collective and state farms, in training-experimental farms, in school and inter-school learning-production studios.

Graduates of secondary labor polytechnical schools will receive a certificate of secondary education and an affidavit on fulfilling the requirements of their chosen vocation. They will also have the right to enter a higher institution of learning. Secondary schools may be established either independently or in conjunction with the eight-year school.

16. A new type of educational institution is firmly established in the Soviet Union and is constantly growing. This is the *boarding school* where the most favorable conditions are created for the instruction and Communist rearing of the younger generation. In accordance with the reconstruction of the system of secondary education boarding schools may be organized, depending on local conditions, to consist of either eight or eleven grades. They must follow the teaching plans and programs of the eight-year and the secondary labor polytechnical schools with production training. Boarding schools are called upon to serve as models of a genuinely skillful combination of education with productive labor.

17. In addition to the above mentioned schools of the second stage of secondary education, it is desirable to preserve schools for the most gifted children in the field of music, choreography, and the fine arts. In case of need dormitories are established in connection with these schools for out-of-town children and for children of large families. The parents' share in bearing the living expenses of the children should be determined by the same considerations as in the case of boarding schools.

Schools for the most gifted children and youth in the field of art give their students a general secondary education, labor training, and special preparation in the field of a specific art. Graduates of these schools may enter directly the appropriate higher institutions of learning.

Schools and agencies of public education should devote more attention to the development of the abilities and inclinations of all children in the field of the arts, as well as in mathematics, physics, biology, and other branches of science. The organization in schools and higher institutions of learning of circles, studios, and special lectures should be widely practiced. Also societies of young mathematicians, physicists, chemists, naturalists, and technicians should

be formed, and youthful talents should be sought out and carefully nurtured. Thought should be given to the question of creating special schools for youth with unusual inclinations and abilities for mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. It goes without saying that after organizing these schools admission of boys and girls will be on the recommendation of a school's pedagogical council and on the successful passing of special examinations.

18. In schools of the second stage of secondary education the level of general and polytechnical education, now prescribed for the ten-year school, would have to be raised. Special attention should be paid to the teaching of physics, mathematics, chemistry, drawing, and biology. The study of foreign languages in all schools of the country should be drastically improved. The network of schools in which instruction in a number of subjects is conducted in foreign languages should be expanded.

The reconstruction of the school should by no means result in neglecting the study of the humanities which play a very important role in the formation of the Communist world outlook of the students.

We must overcome the underestimation of the physical and aesthetic training of school children. The various forms of amateur activity on the part of the young in the spheres of technology, art, nature study, physical education, and sport, also tourism, should be encouraged even more than they are now.

The reconstruction of school education will require a change not only in the content but also in the methods of teaching to foster the greatest possible development of the independence and initiative of students. Visual aids in teaching should be improved by an extensive use of motion pictures, television, and so forth. Abstractness in teaching the basic sciences and production must be overcome. It is particularly important to encourage in schools technical inventiveness, work of students in designing new apparatus and models, technical organization, and agricultural experimentation.

19. Instruction in the Soviet school is conducted in the native tongue. This is one of the important achievements of the Leninist nationality policy. At the same time, in schools of the Union and autonomous republics the Russian language is studied seriously. This language is a powerful means of international communication, of strengthening friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and of bringing them into contact with the wealth of Russian and world culture.

Nevertheless, we must note that in the area of language study in the schools of the Union and autonomous republics children are considerably overloaded. It is a fact that in the nationality schools children study three languages—their native tongue, Russian, and one of the foreign languages.

The question ought to be considered of giving parents the right to send their children to a school where the language of their choice is used. If a child attends a school where instruction is conducted in the language of one of the Union or autonomous republics, he may, if he wishes, take up the Russian language. And vice versa, if a child attends a Russian school, he may, if he so desires, study the language of one of the Union or autonomous republics. To be sure, this step could only be taken if there is a sufficient number of children to form classes for instruction in a given language.

To grant parents the right to decide what language a child should study as a compulsory subject would be a most democratic procedure. It would eliminate arbitrary decisions in this important matter and would make possible the termination of the practice of overloading children with language study. Permission should be granted not to include a foreign language among the required subjects in schools where appropriate conditions do not exist.

20. Serious improvement is needed in the field of character education in the school. It must foster in the students a love of knowledge, a love of labor, and respect for working people. It must form in them a Communist world outlook, nurture them in the essence of Communist morality, supreme loyalty to their Motherland and to the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

It is necessary to strengthen the work of teachers, parents, and public organizations in the development of habits of cultured behavior on the part of students in school, at home, on the street, and in public places. To this end pedagogical propaganda among the broad strata of the population must be considerably improved. Parents and all adults must be held responsible to society in larger measure for the rearing of children. In this matter every possible assistance should be rendered the school and the family by the Party, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other social agencies. The Soviet school is called upon to become an active influence in the raising of the cultural level of all the people.

The organs of public education and public health must establish strictly the correct balance between the work and the recreation of

students. They must not permit overloading with school work, social activities, and labor assignments, and they must take necessary steps for the further improvement of the health of school children.

21. The reconstruction of public education raises anew the question of the work of Pioneer* and Komsomol** organizations in the school. Children and adolescents of Pioneer age will be attending the eight-year school. This means that the role of the Pioneer organization in the school assumes great importance. In schools of the second stage of instruction the Komsomols may have their own organization or may unite with the Komsomol organization in production. All this will require significant changes in the work of the school Pioneer and Komsomol organizations and in the leadership over them of the Komsomol and Party organs.

22. We must put an end to the serious shortcomings in achieving universal compulsory education of children. Laws should be enacted in all Union republics on compulsory eight-year education, holding parents and guardians strictly accountable for the education of their children. Local Soviet organs should be held responsible for attendance in the eight-year school of all children and adolescents between the ages of 7 and 16. The Central Statistical Administration of the USSR and its local organs are obligated to improve the census of children and adolescents of school age.

In order to make the eight-year school compulsory we must provide for the construction of a sufficient number of school buildings and school dormitories. The cost of this construction is to be borne by the state budget, as well as by funds provided by collective farms and cooperative organizations. For children of working parents a longer school day should be provided, the number of such groups to be considerably expanded. We must provide warm meals in schools, also create a universal compulsory education fund to render economic aid to needy children (free food, shoes, clothing, books, etc.). Funds for this purpose would come from the state budget, as well as from collective farms, cooperative organizations, and trade unions.

23. The reorganization of the Soviet school makes new and greater demands on teachers, on skilled workers, and on instructors of vocational and technical disciplines.

* The Society of Young Pioneers (children ten to sixteen years)

** The League of Young Communists (youth sixteen to twenty-six years)

During the years of Soviet power the number of teachers in the country has grown from 280,000 in 1914 to almost 2,000,000 at the present time. This is an enormous cultural force to which Lenin respectfully referred as the army of socialist enlightenment. Many teachers who work in the schools of the USSR are well qualified. Nevertheless, the instruction and rearing of children is sometimes entrusted to persons inadequately trained for the task, or to individuals who because of their practical and moral qualities do not meet the requirements of pedagogical work. Shortage of qualified instructors is felt particularly in the polytechnical disciplines (theory of machines, principles of agricultural economy, and practical work in shops).

Improvement of teachers' qualifications bears a one-sided character and is for the most part concerned with method. Teachers fail to familiarize themselves sufficiently well with the advances in science, culture, and technology. Unnecessary regulation of the work of teachers and of pedagogical collectives in the choice of forms and methods of instruction is permitted. In a number of places no adequate concern is shown for the material position of teachers. Measures should be taken to improve both the working and the living conditions of teachers, and also to raise their ideological-theoretical level and their occupational qualifications.

For the purpose of improving the quality of the teaching staff and of regulating procedure in the appointment and transfer of the pedagogical personnel, it would be well to conduct a certification of teachers not having the necessary education.

24. The science of pedagogy must play an important role in the reconstruction of the school. But as yet it fails to solve many basic questions of nurture and education which life presents. It is the duty of pedagogical science to take a leading role in the reconstruction of the system of public education. An important part of the activity of scientific pedagogical institutions should be devoted to elaborating the scientific foundations of the content of school instruction (teaching plans, programs, and textbooks), to perfecting methods of teaching and Communist rearing of the youth.

With the aim of raising the level of pedagogical work, it is necessary to expand scientific research in this sphere in the Union republics and to improve communication and mutual exchange of results of inquiry among pedagogical institutes. The Academy of Pedagogical Science of the RSFSR must devote more attention to

the theory of Soviet pedagogy, to questions of polytechnical and vocational instruction in school, and make the results of successful experiments generally known.

25. The reconstruction of the system of public education should proceed according to plan and in an organized fashion, giving maximum consideration to local characteristics and allowing no deterioration whatsoever of the service of providing schools for the population. Attention should be directed to a further increase in the number of girls of indigenous nationalities in the upper grades of the Union and autonomous republics of the East.

The plan of changing to the new system of school education must be elaborated in each Union republic and be adapted to the characteristics of its economic and cultural development. The change from seven to eight years of compulsory education, and the organization of various schools at the second stage of education should begin in the academic year of 1959-1960 and be completed within four to five years. Students in the present eighth to tenth grades should be given an opportunity to complete the secondary school according to the existing courses of study and programs, but their labor preparation should be accelerated.

In the elaboration of the plans for the reorganization of the secondary school the question of providing higher institutions of learning with a sufficient number of graduates from secondary schools should be borne in mind. The national economy cannot permit any interruption in the reinforcement of trained personnel with young and highly qualified specialists. For this reason each Union republic, in case of necessity, should preserve during the transition period (apparently, four or five years) a certain number of secondary schools now in operation.

The reconstruction of the school will require a great deal of work on the part of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Council of Ministers, Ministries of Education of the Union republics, and local Party and Soviet organs. They will be required to strengthen the material foundations of the schools, liquidate the multiple shift system in school work, organize instruction in production, place school graduates in jobs without delay, and prepare programs, textbooks, and school aids.

Each Union republic should be given the right to decide independently, in the light of local conditions, such questions as the beginning and ending of the academic year, vacation time, and the

organization of students' work in industrial and agricultural production.

The Communist Party believes that the further improvement of the education of the toilers of all nationalities in the Soviet Union is an important task. It is necessary to show a maximum of Party and state concern that all working men and women, all peasant men and women, have a secondary education. We regard this task as a condition of uninterrupted improvement of productive labor and, consequently, as one of the most important conditions for the successful building of Communism.

ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

26. With the reconstruction of general education the vocational-technical training of youth assumes particular importance. Its task is a planned and organized preparation for all branches of the public economy, of cultured and technically trained skilled industrial and agricultural workers.

The inadequate level of vocational and technical training of some workers retards even now in certain instances the growth of production. Further technological progress will make yet greater demands on the qualifications of the entire body of workers.

The development of vocational and technical training must be intimately related to the new plans outlined by the Communist Party of raising the national economy of the USSR.

27. At present the existing factory-mill schools, industrial trade and railway schools, mining schools, labor reserve construction schools, trade union technical schools, and factory-mill apprenticeship schools under the jurisdiction of the economic councils and departments, all lag behind the increased demands made by industrial and agricultural production. They should be reorganized into *day and evening specialized municipal vocational-technical schools*, of one to three years, and into *rural vocational-technical schools*, of one to two years. The length of time spent in these schools would be determined by the complexity of the vocation involved.

The municipal vocational-technical schools would specialize according to the branches of production and would train skilled workers for industry, construction, transport, communication, utilities, commerce, and cultural and service agencies.

The rural vocational-technical schools would train skilled oper-

ators of machines in the agricultural economy, builders, and other workers necessary in agriculture.

Particular attention should be directed to enrolling young women in vocational-technical schools, and not only in the realm of service occupations, trade, etc., but also in vocations of industrial production (instrument, radio-technical, electrotechnical, textile, sewing, knitting industries, et cetera).

The vocational-technical schools, basing their work on knowledge of the fundamentals of science and polytechnical and general labor training received by pupils in the eight-year school, must give their students supplementary knowledge in subjects of general education.

The number of vocational-technical schools must grow with the needs of the national economy. Some of the existing labor reserve schools should be retained during the next three to five years in order to give an opportunity to students, who during these years will still be graduating from the ten-year general education schools, to enter technical schools, also to enable youth who for some reason or other failed to graduate, to enter trade, building, railway, and mining schools, factory-mill schools, and agricultural mechanization schools.

28. The vocational-technical schools must have at their disposal instructional workshops necessary for the mastery of the fundamentals of vocational skill, also laboratories equipped with appropriate production-training installations. They must have qualified staffs of skilled workers as their instructors in productive work and engineer-teachers, engaged on a full time basis in the instruction and rearing of students. The pedagogical process in these schools is built on the foundation of active, systematic participation of youth in productive labor and is subordinated to the task of preparing workers for specific occupations. The organic tie of production training with a broad technical education and the combination of instruction in workshops and enterprises make possible the training in these schools of technically educated workers with a wide range of skills and a high qualification.

The vocational-technical schools must conduct their instruction and educational work in close relationship with enterprises, construction, state farms, and collective farms which are under obligation to provide room for the production practice of students. They must see that favorable conditions are created for the successful conduct of the instructional process and that the young people

master the new techniques of advanced technology and high-productive methods of work. The organs of the Soviet economy are called upon to render every possible help to improve the vocational education of youth.

The most important task of the vocational-technical schools is the Communist rearing of the students, the hardening of their ideological commitments, and the inculcation in them of the Communist attitude toward labor. The Komsomol is called upon to play a large role in this entire process.

29. For the purpose of gradually making the vocational-technical schools self-supporting, measures should be undertaken and consistently put into effect to expand and increase the profitableness of the productive activity of educational institutions.

In the light of the improved material security of the workers it would be advisable, as an incentive to stimulate students to master the vocations they are studying, to change the existing practice in the material maintenance of students by introducing wages for their apprentice work instead of supplying them free of charge with food and clothing.

Full state support must be retained for orphans, children maintained in children's homes, and children from large families.

It is recommended that collective farms look into the question of appropriating funds for the instruction of their youth in vocational-technical schools.

30. The reorganization of the system of vocational education makes new and greater demands on the level of the technical, ideological-political, and pedagogical training of master workmen for production instruction and teachers in vocational-technical schools. The growth of the network of these schools will create a greater need for master workmen and teachers. Therefore it is necessary to devote more attention to the training of these professional workers in technicums and higher institutions of learning.

We must improve the quality and increase the output of textbooks and visual aids, expand the production of instructional-technical and popular science motion pictures, and also make wide use in vocational-technical education of radio and television.

31. The State Planning Commission of the USSR, the Chief Administration of Labor Reserves in the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Union Republics, and the Ministries of Education must prepare long-range plans for the

vocational instruction and the placement in production of young people who graduate from the eight-year general-education school, the secondary school with production training, and the vocational-technical school. This should be done with a view to reserving places for the young people to be employed in enterprises under strict regulations for the protection of labor and safety.

32. Along with the development of vocational-technical schools we must improve the preparation of new specialists through student brigades and a system of short-term courses in enterprises. Here instruction in production should be conducted on the basis of teaching plans and programs uniform for each vocation but adapted in localities to the peculiarities of each enterprise. Theoretical instruction of necessity should be conducted in the vocational-technical school nearest the enterprise.

ON SECONDARY SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

33. Workers with specialized secondary education occupy an important position in industrial and agricultural production, as well as in institutions of culture, education, and public health. The role of technicians as organizers of production is most decisive. It is precisely they, the technicians, who are directly responsible for the organization of production. Therefore, particular attention should be given to the training of these specialists.

Contemporary production based on the latest discoveries of science and technology demands that graduates from secondary specialized educational institutions possess a sound knowledge of practice as well as a high level of theoretical training. However, the quality of instruction in these educational institutions as yet fails to meet the demands of life. Students of technicums and specialized schools participate little in production and fail to acquire adequate production skills necessary for practical work. The system of specialized secondary education must be improved.

34. The system of specialized secondary education should be built on the eight-year polytechnical school, as well as on a complete secondary education.

The training of students in specialized secondary educational institutions should be more intimately related to socially useful labor. The length of time devoted to various periods of instruction, either full-time or part-time, while working in production, may vary, depending on the branch of the national economy for which the spe-

cialists are preparing, as well as on conditions of work in enterprises, construction works, and other undertakings. Instruction in specialized secondary educational institutions must guarantee that, in addition to general education, students acquire the necessary knowledge in their specializations, including labor skills; whereupon they would be given qualification ratings corresponding to their given specializations. The quality of instruction in specialized secondary institutions must be raised, the staff of teachers improved, and their qualifications systematically advanced.

35. Specialized secondary educational institutions must be brought closer to production. And they should be developed in accordance with the need for personnel of the economic districts. Preference should be given to evening and correspondence courses. The Ministries and Departments of the Soviet economy should cooperate more closely in the training of specialists with a secondary education, and the Union republics should study the need for such specialists and plan their training better.

It is recommended that studios and shops be organized in technicums in which industrial commodities would be produced by the manpower of the students.

Rural technicums should be organized as large farms and all essential work should be done by the students themselves.

Evening correspondence instruction should admit, for the most part, only persons working in occupations related to the chosen specialty. It would be expedient to organize correspondence courses in connection with well established technicums which have at their disposal a well-trained teaching staff and also the necessary instructional and physical facilities.

ON THE HIGHER SCHOOL

36. The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared the main task of the higher school to be a further improvement in the quality of the training of specialists on the basis of close relationship between instruction and practice, that is, between teaching and production. New tasks of Communist construction demand the elimination of serious shortcomings in the work of the higher school. At the present time many youth on graduating from the higher school have little knowledge of practical work and are inadequately prepared to pass independent judgment on questions of modern production. Not a little time passes before

such a specialist can find himself in the workers' collective. The higher school must be brought closer to life, to production, and be properly linked with it. At the same time it is necessary to raise the theoretical level of the training of specialists in the light of the newest achievements in science.

Under the contemporary conditions of building Communism the higher school is called upon to train all-round educated people. They should be thoroughly familiar with the appropriate fields of science and technology, be active and conscious builders of Communism. Particular attention should be directed toward the improvement of the quality of the training of specialists in the spheres of industry and agriculture.

The reorganization of the system of higher education intended to guarantee a better practical and theoretical preparation of specialists must achieve a significant improvement in the study of the social sciences, in the Communist education of youth. All instructors must participate actively in this nurture of the students.

In view of the fact that approximately one-half of the entire body of scientists in the country is concentrated in higher institutions of learning, it is urgently necessary to raise considerably the role of the higher schools in scientific research work and to enlist in this work the active participation of all instructors.

In admitting young people to higher institutions of learning priority should be given to youth with a record in practical work. More favorable conditions should be created to prepare working and rural youth for entrance into these institutions.

The concrete forms of combining instruction in the higher school with practice, that is, with labor, should be determined by the type of institution, by the composition of its student body, as well as by a number of national and local characteristics.

37. In the development of our higher school it is necessary to move first of all along the line of *evening and correspondence courses*. Instruction in the system of evening and correspondence education should be expanded as much as possible and should be raised qualitatively to a new level. The network of correspondence courses and evening higher schools should be perfected. And it should be organized in such a way that evening and correspondence education should also be based on day higher schools which have a qualified professorial-instructional staff and adequate physical and technical facilities.

It would be expedient to transfer instructional-consultation points and branches of higher institutions of learning to large industrial and agricultural enterprises. This would enable the economic, Party, professional, and Komsomol organizations to exercise control and render aid in the study-work of the students. Evening and correspondence courses of higher institutions, faculties, departments, and instructional-consultation points should be staffed by the most qualified professors and instructors and in such numbers as to assure normal studies under this system.

In the course of the further development of science and technology the acquisition of new knowledge becomes indispensable for specialists with higher education. In this connection the higher school must insure the raising of the qualifications of specialists employed in various branches of national economy, culture, and education without taking them away from production.

It is necessary to improve the provision for correspondence students of textbooks, teaching aids, printed lectures, and other literature. For this purpose suitable printing and publishing facilities should be created. Book-distributing agencies are under obligation to establish procedures whereby the student can always obtain the needed educational literature. For students who remain on their jobs while studying, the taking of examinations and the submitting of reports should be organized at different times during the entire year.

Collective farms should extend to their members, who are correspondence students in good academic standing, the same privileges which are enjoyed by correspondence students who work in industrial enterprises.

The correspondence system of higher education should be developed so that people engaged in useful work in society could, should they so desire, have an opportunity in their leisure time to gain a higher education, either to raise their professional qualifications, or to study art, painting, music, and humanities, and so forth.

38. In the training of *engineers* various ways of combining instruction with work in production may be employed. In the majority of higher technical schools the most desirable combination of instruction with work in production is through a system of evening or correspondence education in the first two courses.

For a number of specialties where students in the beginning study a cycle of complex theoretical disciplines as well as engage

in a great deal of laboratory work, it might be desirable during the first two or three years to conduct instruction entirely in the school. Thereafter students should be assigned to practical work for a year in regular jobs directly in production, in laboratories, and in construction bureaus.

In improving the system of higher education, considerable attention should be devoted to the training of engineers for branches of new technology, for the further development of scientific and design-construction work. As a result of the tempestuous development of science and technology an acute need arises for specialists of a new type. These specialists must combine engineering knowledge with thorough theoretical training.

The next few years must witness a broad development in the training of engineers in the utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, automation and telemechanics, electronics, electro-machine construction, instrument construction, radio-technology and communication, and chemical technology. The higher school must train engineers capable, not only of utilizing fully contemporary technology, but also of creating the technology of the future.

In addition to a high level of technical training, our engineers must also possess sound knowledge in the field of economics and the organization of production.

The productive labor of students should be organized in such a way as to help them achieve a better mastery of their future specialty. A procedure should be introduced in enterprises which would enable students to study in progressive sequence the technological process of production. During the period of instruction, while continuing to work in production, students should master the disciplines most suitable for independent study.

When persons, who have had sufficient experience in production in the chosen specialty, are admitted to higher institutions of learning instruction can be organized on a full-time basis and they can be released from production. Higher institutions of learning preparing engineers for branches of the national economy marked by seasonal influences should so organize the instructional process that work in the institute alternates with work in production, according to the seasonal principle.

Factory higher technical schools in large enterprises constitute a good form of the combination of instruction with productive labor. These institutions could be organized, in particular, on the basis of

Хорошей формой соединения обучения с производительным трудом являются **заводы-вузы** при крупных предприятиях. Заводы-вузы можно организовать, в частности, на базе существующих заводских филиалов крупных стационарных вузов. Возможна также организация при вузах промышленных предприятий и цехов, выпускающих продукцию силами студентов.

39. В сельскохозяйственных вузах сочетание обучения с производительным трудом необходимо строить с учетом сезонности производства. Обучение должно проводиться в институтах, организованных на базе крупных совхозов и имеющих мощные образцовые учебные хозяйства, хорошие лаборатории, а также все условия для практической работы. Студенты сами должны ухаживать за животными, ремонтировать машины, управлять ими, сеять, выращивать и убирать урожай. Все специалисты сельского хозяйства должны быть хорошо подготовлены в области экономики и организации социалистического сельскохозяйственного производства. Необходима известная направленность подготовки специалистов сельского хозяйства применительно к отдельным зонам страны.

Сельскохозяйственные вузы призваны стать научными центрами и оказывать помощь колхозам и совхозам в повышении урожайности, продуктивности животноводства, механизации, организации сельскохозяйственного производства, постановке опытнической работы. Следует более широко практиковать объединение научно-исследовательских институтов и опытных станций с сельскохозяйственными вузами. Вузы должны проводить широкие мероприятия по повышению квалификации специалистов сельского хозяйства через факультеты усовершенствования и другие формы повышения квалификации.

40. Интересы советской науки, техники и культуры требуют дальнейшего развития **университетского образования**. Университеты готовят специалистов для научно-

existing factory branches of large institutions of higher learning. It is possible also to organize in higher institutions of learning industrial enterprises and workshops where students would produce goods.

39. In *agricultural higher technical schools* the combination of instruction with labor must take into consideration the seasonal nature of production. Instruction must be conducted in institutes organized on large state farms, having powerful model instructional plants and good laboratories, as well as all conditions necessary for practical work. The students themselves must tend livestock, repair and operate machines, sow, cultivate, and gather the harvest. All agricultural specialists must be well trained in the field of economics and the organization of socialist agricultural production. In the training of specialists regard for different zones of the country should be carefully observed.

Agricultural higher technical schools should become scientific centers and help collective farms and state farms in the raising of the harvest and the productivity of animal breeding, in the mechanization of agricultural production, and in the conduct of experimental work. We should practice more widely the coordination of scientific institutes and experimental stations with agricultural higher schools. The higher institutions of learning should undertake broad measures to raise the qualifications of agricultural specialists by improving faculties and by other methods.

40. The interests of Soviet science, technology, and culture call for a further development of *university education*. Universities prepare specialists for scientific research institutions and teachers for secondary schools.

In the preparation in universities of mathematicians, physicists, biologists, philologists, specialists in mechanics, chemistry, and certain other branches of science we must make sure that the practical training of students is strengthened through the prolongation of their work in factory laboratories, construction bureaus, agricultural experimental stations, and other scientific-research institutions. For persons who on graduating from the universities will go to work in schools, the training in methods and pedagogical practice must be improved. For this purpose the services of the best secondary school teachers should be enlisted.

In the next few years we should increase significantly preparation in the universities of mathematicians, particularly in compu-

исследовательских учреждений и учителей для средних школ.

При подготовке в университетах математиков, физиков, биологов, филологов, специалистов по механике, химии и некоторым другим разделам науки необходимо усилить практическую подготовку студентов путем более продолжительной их работы в заводских лабораториях, конструкторских бюро, опытных сельскохозяйственных станциях и других научно-исследовательских учреждениях. Для лиц, которые по окончании университетов пойдут на работу в школу, нужно улучшить постановку методической подготовки и педагогической практики, привлекая для этого лучших педагогов средней школы.

В ближайшие годы следует значительно увеличить в университетах подготовку математиков, особенно по вычислительной математике; биологов и прежде всего биофизиков, биохимиков, физиологов, генетиков; физиков, в частности, по ядерной физике и радиофизике; химиков в области химического катализа и высокополимерных веществ. В университетах нужно создавать счетно-вычислительные лаборатории, оснащенные электронными машинами, пополнить ядерные лаборатории современными ускорителями, организовать радиохимические и радиобиологические лаборатории и т. д.

В процессе совершенствования университетского образования должно быть всемерно усилено внимание к гуманитарным наукам, значение которых непрерывно возрастает.

При подготовке экономистов, юристов, историков, философов и некоторых других специалистов по гуманитарным наукам следует ввести систему обучения, при которой студенты, не имеющие производственного стажа, первые 1—2 года учатся без отрыва от работы в народном хозяйстве.

41. Перестройка системы среднего образования требует коренного улучшения подготовки учительских кад-

tation mathematics; biologists and first of all, biophysicists, biochemists, physiologists, and geneticists; physicists, especially in nuclear and radio physics; and chemists in the field of catalysis and high polymers. Computing laboratories with electronic equipment should be installed in the universities. Nuclear laboratories should be supplied with the latest accelerators, and radio-chemical and radio-biological laboratories should be organized, et cetera.

In the process of improving university education attention to the humanistic sciences, whose significance is constantly growing, must be strengthened everywhere.

In the training of economists, lawyers, historians, philosophers, and certain other specialists in the humanities, we must introduce a system of instruction under which students with no experience in productive labor would spend the first year or two working in the national economy while studying.

41. The reorganization of the system of secondary education calls for a radical improvement in the training of teachers in *pedagogical institutes and universities*. These higher educational institutions must prepare teachers for the secondary school who have profound knowledge of science in the fields of their specialties, possess adequate pedagogical experience, know life well, and be able to cultivate in students the spirit of boundless devotion to the cause of Communism. The training of teachers for the primary school should be conducted in special departments of the pedagogical institutes, having in mind that in the future the transition to staffing all schools with teachers having higher education will be fully completed.

We must organize the training of teachers in special disciplines (in agronomy, animal breeding, technology, etc.) either in pedagogical institutes or in specialized higher educational institutions, depending on concrete conditions. A definite number of qualified engineers and agronomists should be assigned during the years 1959 to 1965 to teach in schools, vocational technical schools, and technicums. Appropriate provisions should be made to prepare them for pedagogical work. The present system of instruction in pedagogical institutes should be supplemented by more extensive practice in production and teaching.

The scientific-theoretical level of teaching in pedagogical institutes should be improved. We should do everything possible to develop scientific-research work, create scientific laboratories, and

strengthen the bond of the institutes with the school and with productive and scientific organizations.

42. Improvement in the quality of the preparation of doctors with higher education merits serious attention. The work of the physician imposes a number of lofty specific demands on the person who chooses this profession. Every young person, even prior to entering a medical school, must have shown an interest in the medical profession and have acquired certain practical skills by working in hospitals. Primarily, therefore, those young people who have had practical work as junior service personnel in medical and prophylactic institutions should be selected for admission to *medical institutes*.

Instruction of the students should be accompanied by uninterrupted practice in hospitals and clinics. For persons with a secondary medical education and a two-year record of work in their field of specialization, instruction during the first two courses may be arranged without interruption of work.

In order to raise the quality of the training of physicians, scientific work in the most important areas of medical science should be improved in higher medical schools.

43. The reconstruction of the system of public education will make possible the pursuit of the only correct method of admitting students to higher educational institutions according to the principle of selecting the most industrious, the best prepared, and the most gifted individuals. Admission to higher educational institutions should be on a competitive basis, preference being given to persons with a record of practical work. In the competitive selection consideration should be given, not only to the total results of the examination, but primarily to grades in subjects related to the student's future specialization and to recommendations from social organizations. In this way it is possible to select the truly best persons who would be able in the shortest time to apply successfully in production the knowledge they have gained. For a more objective selection of youth for the higher schools it might be desirable in some instances to conduct written examinations without employing the names of the candidates.

In order to increase the enrollment of workers and peasants in the higher schools, leaders of higher educational institutions, and Party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations should conduct active work in mills, collective farms, and state farms. In admitting

students to higher educational institutions their inclination and love for the chosen specialization should be taken into consideration, also the special characteristics of men's and women's work.

44. One of the decisive conditions in raising both the practical and the theoretical preparation of young specialists is the improvement of the staff of scientific-pedagogical personnel in higher institutions of learning. Provision should be made for the training from the ranks of gifted youth with higher education and practical work experience highly qualified scientific-pedagogical workers capable of promoting the further development of science, technology, and culture.

We should enlist widely in the work of instruction in higher schools the best qualified engineers and technicians in enterprises, construction, design offices, and scientific-research institutes, also agronomists and physicians, able to conduct teaching through the use of advanced methods of production and recent discoveries in science and technology. Conditions should be created to enable them to combine their teaching with their basic work in production. Also the terms of their compensation in the higher schools should be arranged.

It is the duty of every teacher in the higher school to improve constantly his qualifications to participate actively in scientific research work, and to render scientific assistance to production.

It would be desirable to establish a procedure whereby instructors in various fields of specialization in higher schools could engage periodically in productive work in the appropriate branch of the national economy for a definite period of time, depending on the nature of their scientific-pedagogical activity.

The present system of certification of scientific-pedagogical specialists needs improvement. We must raise the requirements for scientific research and award higher degrees only to those who through their original work make a contribution to science and practice.

Professors and instructors in higher institutions of learning should, for the most part, be selected under a competitive system which should be substantially improved. The most gifted persons in scientific-pedagogical relations should be selected for the higher schools.

45. The role of the higher schools in the development of science, technology, and culture is constantly increasing. They

should conduct scientific research on a high theoretical plane and of major importance to the development of the national economy, science, and culture. Professors and instructors must be closely associated with production. They should participate in the solution of the most important problems of technological progress, introduce more actively into production the latest discoveries in science and technology, systematically summarize and disseminate the results of the advanced experience of enterprises, and conduct more profound research in the social sciences.

Closer contact of the leadership of industry and construction with enterprises helps the higher schools to resolve the most important research problems. The economic councils and the organs of agricultural management must render assistance to the higher schools in applying the results of scientific research and in organizing experiments in production.

It should be recognized as desirable to combine several scientific research institutes with higher institutions of learning of appropriate types. It is necessary to coordinate scientific research work among the higher schools, the Academy of Science of the USSR, the Academies of Science of the Union republics, the industrial branch academies, the research institutes, and the large factory laboratories.

46. The importance of the higher schools in the field of moral and ideological training is great. They must graduate individuals who are masters of their chosen specialties, who are active and ardent champions of Leninist ideas and the policy of the Communist Party, who are daring, cheerful, and profoundly convinced of the victory of our cause.

In the cultivation of these qualities study of the social sciences plays a large role. A knowledge of the foundations of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable for specialists in all areas. They must study Lenin and know how to apply his enormous theoretical heritage in life, to build our life in a Communist fashion. The study of Marxism-Leninism must bear a creative, aggressive, and militant character. We must rear our youth in the spirit of irreconcilability with bourgeois ideology and all manifestations of revisionism. The teaching of the social sciences must be connected indissolubly with the study of the natural sciences; it must help the students to develop a scientific method of thought. The high demands made upon the teaching of Marxist-Leninist theory in the higher schools obligate every teacher constantly and stubbornly to deepen his knowledge

and to relate his work closely to practice, to the tasks of today.

The moral and ideological education of youth in higher institutions of learning is the business of all professors and instructors, as well as of the Party, the trade union, and the Komsomol organization. It is their duty to cultivate in students a Marxian-Leninist world outlook, love of labor, Communist morality, and habits of social activity.

The higher school must develop in students a responsible attitude toward their studies, a creative approach to the mastery of the sciences, and a capacity for independent work. The overloading of students with required assignments should be eliminated and students in advanced courses should be encouraged to engage in scientific research work.

47. A large amount of work must be undertaken for the purpose of bringing the network of the higher schools of the country closer to production. The number of these institutions should be increased in new industrial centers, particularly in the regions of Siberia, the Far East, and the republics of Middle Asia. The unwarranted concentration of higher educational institutions in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and certain other cities should be abolished.

48. The reconstruction of the system of higher education in the direction of combining instruction with work in production must be so planned and organized that the number of annually graduating specialists needed for the national economy, science, and culture should increase. It would be desirable to achieve the reorganization in a considerable number of the higher schools gradually during the next three to five years, beginning in 1959. Heads of economic councils, enterprises, scientific research and other organizations should make available to the higher schools regular paid jobs for workers and technicians to be filled by students. They should also organize the production training of students, give them housing accommodations, provide them with work clothes, et cetera.

All measures for the reconstruction of the higher schools are designed to help these institutions perform still better the important state tasks confronting them.

The reconstruction of the secondary and the higher school touches the interests of millions of people, all of the Soviet people. The correct resolution of this task will be of tremendous importance

for the further material and spiritual development of Soviet society, particularly in the light of those great plans which the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will discuss and adopt. Bringing the school closer to life will create the truly essential conditions for a better education of the younger generation who will live and work under Communism.

There is not a single family in our country which is not keenly interested in the questions of school reconstruction. Therefore the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR deem it necessary to submit the present theses to a nationwide discussion. This will make it possible in finally determining the specific ways of reconstructing the system of public education to utilize more fully the practice of outstanding secondary and higher schools which have already made some progress in the labor education of youth, as well as to profit from suggestions coming from wide circles of the Soviet public. And of course in this work the national characteristics of each Union republic must be taken into consideration.

The contemplated reconstruction will enhance the role of the school in the education and rearing of youth, will raise considerably their general educational level and their practical qualifications, will serve as a better guaranty of training highly qualified personnel for all branches of national economy, science, and culture, and will contribute in even greater degree to the growing might of the Soviet Union which marches with a firm step on the road to the building of Communism.

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